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CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

A Life of A. Livingston Warnshuis

BY NORMAN GOODALL:

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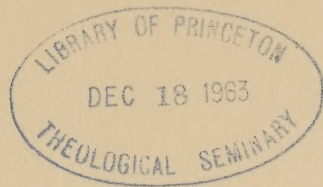
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THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT:

WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT DOES,

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1961*



CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

A Life of A. Livingston Warnshuis

by **NORMAN GOODALL**

CHANNEL PRESS, INC.
Manhasset, New York

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 63-19921

Printed in the United States of America

To
Friendship

PREFACE

A. L. WARNSHUIS NEVER became a public figure in the popular sense of the term and it is a diminishing number of people who now recall the part he played through many years as a great Christian ambassador. Yet those for whom his name still evokes admiration belong to many nations and races and they know that his work constituted a major contribution to some of the most significant movements of the twentieth century. They also realize that, though little publicized, it was of a kind without which the achievements of better-known men would have lacked some of the luster which they acquired. This volume tries to tell the story of Livingston Warnshuis both in terms of a personal study and as a narrative of important episodes in the Christian history of his period.

In the making of history, men and movements belong together. Livingston Warnshuis's personal story as a Christian missionary began in the year of the Boxer rising in China. Within less than a decade there came that greater revolution in China which provides one of the keys to the character of the age in which we now

PREFACE

live. Two world wars followed, with their bewildering aftermath, and for more than half of this turbulent century Warnshuis was at the heart of great international endeavors to bring home to men the good news of the Gospel and its meaning for man and society. He was a great missionary during years when the missionary imperative was seen most clearly and obeyed most confidently. In a war-torn world he became a distinguished Christian internationalist helping to fashion the form of that ecumenical movement which transcends the frontiers of nation and denomination. In a world of want he was amongst the foremost of those who rallied the forces of Christian concern and created such compassionate agencies as those which we now know as Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees, with their distinctive American expression in Church World Service.

Movements and men belong together, but new generations of men are needed if great movements are to be sustained and renewed in their purpose and methods. This tribute to a great servant of great movements has been written in the hope that it may help others to discover their own vocation in Christian service and witness. Warnshuis had fine abilities, yet this book is not the story of a genius. It is the tale of one whose fairly common gifts were used and fulfilled to an uncommon degree because of his Christian obedience and single-minded determination. Such men are more than ever needed in this present age, when the historic Christian

PREFACE

movements illustrated in this volume are themselves undergoing revolutionary changes born of the needs of the time and the imperatives of the Spirit.

When Mrs. Warnshuis and the trustees of the Margaret Chambers Warnshuis Foundation honored me with the invitation to write this book my first reaction was to wish that it might be done by a fellow-countryman of Warnshuis. Anyone else would be likely to miss points, characteristics and nuances only perceptible to a kinsman. What I have written is bound to betray this lack. I can only console myself by remembering that, to a profound degree, A. L. Warnshuis was a fellow-countryman of men of many nations. As the following chapters indicate, he was more than a sojourner in China; the country got into his blood. Although born outside Holland, he was recognizably a great Dutchman—in more senses than one. During his years in England he entered with peculiar sympathy, and even pride, into our strange British ways. Culturally, the old and new worlds blended inseparably in him, as did many of the characteristics of East and West. Perhaps this is only to say that he was a good American. Yet he would agree—loyal and proud American as he was—that it is even more important to say that he was a Christian and therefore a blood-brother of all for whom Christ died.

My indebtedness to others in the writing of this tribute cannot be fully expressed. Its origin is, of course, in the friendship that I was privileged to enjoy with

PREFACE

“A.L.W.” during the last twelve years of his life. Thanks to him and his wife, the Warnshuis home has been my haven on some twenty or thirty visits to the U.S.A. I am indebted to the trustees of the Margaret Chambers Warnshuis Foundation and especially to Mr. Arad Riggs, for their confidence and generosity. Characteristically, Livingston Warnshuis left his study and his papers in immaculate order, but much initial work was needed in the sifting and arranging of the material and a large part of this task was handled most competently by one who bears another of the great names in the missionary history of the Reformed Church of America—Dorothy Van Ess, widow of John Van Ess of the Arabian Mission, and herself a citizen of the world. Much of the research work on papers outside the U.S.A., especially at Edinburgh House, London, was done by Miss Verleigh Cant who has also typed and re-typed the manuscript. Friends and fellow-workers of Warnshuis have shared their knowledge and impressions with me, notably another senior missionary of the old China days—the Reverend Henry P. DePree, and such close friends and colleagues of Warnshuis as Dr. Roswell Barnes, Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert and Dr. C. W. Ranson—all of whom have generously read the manuscript and helped towards its accuracy. For an illuminating visit to some of the scenes of Warnshuis’s earlier years in Michigan and Iowa I am greatly in the debt of Dr. I. J. Lubbers, the former President of Hope College, Holland, Michigan, and to President A. D. Lubbers, and his wife, of the Central College, Pella,

PREFACE

Iowa. The librarians of Hope College, of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, of the Yale Divinity School, and the Missionary Research Library, New York, have all responded to my needs with readiness and generosity. I owe a more intimate acknowledgement to the members of the Warnshuis family whom I have met for varying periods and to some of whom both my wife and I are indebted for hospitality—Mr. and Mrs. Roger L. Warnshuis of Grand Rapids, Michigan; Mrs. Henry Pyle of North Muskegon, Michigan; the Reverend Paul Livingston Warnshuis, D.D., formerly secretary of the National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church; the Reverend M. Verne Oggel, D.D., minister of the Glen Rock Community Church, New Jersey, and President of the General Synod of the Reformed Church; and the Reverend J. H. Warnshuis, D.D., and his wife Lilian C. Warnshuis, M.D., missionaries for many years in the Arcot Mission of South India and now of New London, Connecticut. Finally, but of necessity incompletely, my chief acknowledgment belongs to Margaret Chambers Warnshuis, to whom Livingston owed the secret of his happiest years and best achievements, and whose friends know her as one whose story—joyously continuing—is in itself a cause for thanksgiving and delight.

NORMAN GOODALL

*Benson
Oxford
England.
1963.*

CONTENTS

I	NEW HOLLANDERS	1
II	LAND OF ADOPTION	21
III	CITIZEN OF THE WORLD	79
IV	ELDER STATESMAN	123
V	ANCHORAGE	151

Seest thou a man diligent in his business?
He shall stand before kings.

Proverbs, xxii, 29.

Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit;
serving the Lord.

Romans, xii, 11.

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the
same Spirit. And there are differences of ad-
ministrations, but the same Lord.

I Corinthians, xii, 4, 5.

Chapter One

NEW HOLLANDERS

AMERICA IS composed of Americans who retain, with astonishing persistence, the national characteristics of other peoples. All national cultures have mixed origins, but in the United States the process of mingling is more recent than elsewhere. In fact, the word "mingling" is scarcely accurate. There are common characteristics and common loyalties; there are basic assumptions and ideals which find expression throughout the nation: but the divergences remain, vivid and radical—a source of endless fascination.

Among these persistent differences there is the America that grew out of Dutch enterprise. The Englishman who tends to think of the New World in terms of a New England often overlooks the fact that this new world also emerged as a New Holland. Virginia, Maryland and Carolina may be names which perpetuate memories of the English throne, but it should not be

forgotten that New York was first called New Amsterdam. Even Pilgrim Fathers were not an exclusively British export. Religious devotion, dissent from an established order, and the search for freedom also drove boatloads of pilgrims from Holland across the Atlantic.

The Dutch contribution to this religious pilgrimage—as distinct from colonial pioneering—mainly belongs to a period two centuries later than that of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. It differed also in its theological emphasis, for whereas the *Mayflower* pioneers represented dissent from an established orthodoxy, the religious element in the migrations from Holland in the nineteenth century were a protest against liberalizing tendencies in the national Church. Partly as a result of William the First's attempt to secure organizational unity in the Church on a basis of theological latitudinarianism, there had occurred a liberalizing process which led to secessions from the Established Church in defence of the purity of the faith. The seceders suffered social disabilities and, in some instances, they were the victims of mob violence. In spite of this, many had no thought of leaving Holland; they remained as Seceders in their own land. But the sharpest strife occurred during a period of economic distress and the search for a livelihood was coupled with religious motives as an incentive to emigration. The biggest exodus on this account took place in the decade between 1845 and 1855 when some 23,000 Hollanders settled in America. It has been estimated that at this time, out of a popula-

tion of two million in Holland, 700,000 were dependent on charity for their support. Opinions vary as to the strength of the religious motive in this wave of emigration, and it has been contended that religious convictions were more determinative of the pattern which the migration assumed than of its cause. "The causes for the emigration from Holland in the forties are mainly economic, but that this emigration took the particular form of going out and settling in closed, organized groups is due to religious factors."¹ On this occasion, whether faith or economics drove harder, the Promised Land to which the voyagers looked was the region of the Great Lakes, and the result was a powerful Dutch contribution to the development of the Middle West. This contribution continues today in Iowa and Michigan, and on the shores of Lake Macatawa the town which bears the name of Holland can boast that its population is ninety per cent of Dutch descent.

It is in close connection with this mid-nineteenth century emigration that the family name of Warnshuis appears. Conjecture relates the name to the Old German *warnen*, meaning *to guard*. As the land farmed by successive generations of the family was in a region

¹ See *Hollanders Who Helped Build America* by Bernard H. M. Vlekke and Henry Beets (New York, American Biographical Company, 1942), and *A Dutch Settlement in Michigan* by A. J. Pieters (Grand Rapids, Reformed Press, 1923). See also *Albertus C. Van Raalte and his Dutch Settlements in the U.S.A.* by Albert Hyma (Grand Rapids, W. B. Erdmans, 1947) and *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada 1789-1950* by Henry S. Lucas (University of Michigan Press, 1955).

formerly covered by game forests, *Warnshuis* may have signified *the-house-of-the-game-warden*. In the year 1845 Jan Hendrik Warnshuis, a weaver and farmer of Winterswijk, Gelderland, with his wife Johanna, began to make a new home in Clymer, in the Chautauqua country of New York State. The parish records in Winterswijk, Holland, contain dated references to the family and their occupation as farmers from the year 1739, and allude—without dates—to an older *Gerrit Willem te Warnshuis* and a *Teunis te Warnshuis*. It was as a farmer that Jan Hendrik Warnshuis began to provide in Clymer for his wife and their three small children, one of whom—Janna Catharina—was less than a year old. The others were Geziena, age five, and Jan Willem, age four. Within the next two or three years five other members of the Warnshuis clan, brothers and sisters of Jan Hendrik, followed their emigrant brother and settled in America.

Jan Hendrik was the grandfather of the subject of this biography, Abbe Livingston Warnshuis. Livingston's father was the Jan Willem who was four years old when the uprooting from Holland began. A boyhood spent largely in farming included an education—during the winter months only—at the district school, and at the age of seventeen the boy began a long and close connection with the Dutch community in the Middle West. In the town of Holland, Michigan, there was a school known as the Holland Academy, and in the year 1858 Jan Willem was admitted as one of its students.

NEW HOLLANDERS

The Holland Academy was then a very young institution, having assumed the dignity of an "academy" only two years previously. It was, in fact, a significant monument to the devotion and ideals of the Dutch settlers of the "forties." In the year following the arrival of Jan Hendrik Warnshuis in America a company of about fifty Hollanders reached the Middle West and after some prospecting acquired a thousand acres of land in a well-wooded region between the Kalamazoo and Grand Rivers. Here they established the settlement to which they gave the name of Holland. Their leading spirit was a Secessionist pastor—Dr. A. C. Van Raalte—under whose guidance this little company declared its intention "to make the colony Christian." Within three years they had established a school on a five-acre site and four years later it was reorganized as the Holland Academy. This was the beginning of what is now Hope College, a co-educational college of the Reformed Church in America with a far-reaching reputation for the quality of its life and work.¹ The title Hope College replaced that of the Holland Academy when the school was raised to collegiate status in 1865 and incorporated in the following year. The name perpetuates a word of

¹ In 1963 the student enrollment of more than 1,500 included men and women from Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia, Arabia, the Canal Zone, Iran, India, Latin America, East and West Africa, Canada, England, Germany, France, and the Netherlands. Nearly 1,000 students belonged to the Reformed Church. The remaining 600 were mainly drawn from the larger Protestant Churches in the U.S.A. There were also 12 Roman Catholics and 25 whose religious affiliation was described as 'none or unknown.'

the founder of the original pioneer school when Van Raalte declared in a dedicatory address: "This is my anchor of hope for this people."

After three years at the Holland Academy Jan Willem Warnshuis went to Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he graduated in 1865. Then followed a three-year course in theology at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church. At the completion of his training for the Reformed Church ministry Jan Willem found himself invited by three different churches to become their pastor. The call that he accepted was from the Reformed Church in Cleveland, Ohio, where he was installed as pastor in July 1869. Between this year and his death in 1901, he held pastorates at Marion (1871-6) and Clymer (1876-8) in New York State; at Alton, sometimes called East Orange, Iowa (1879-86 and 1888-91); at Passaic, New Jersey (1886-7); in New York City at the Holland Church (1887-8); at Gano in Chicago, Illinois (1891-95); at Grand Rapids, Michigan (1895-1900) and Kalamazoo, Michigan (1900-01). Eighteen years out of a ministry covering just over thirty-two years were thus spent in the Middle West amongst the Dutch community which had settled there in the forties. The brief pastorate in New York City was in the nature of a chaplaincy to Dutch immigrants, helping them immediately on their arrival in America. The ministry in Chicago was with a new community which as yet had no church building, and the two years in

NEW HOLLANDERS

Clymer were a return to the first Warnshuis home in America where the little church consisted mainly of members of the minister's own family circle. Jan Willem's ministry was throughout almost exclusively a Dutch-speaking ministry to settlers whose language in church and home remained that of the Holland from which they had come.

J. W. Warnshuis was twice married, first to Hendrika Oonk, who died in 1883, and later to Anna Christian Schmidt. There were five children of the first marriage¹ and seven of the second.² Abbe Livingston was the fourth child of the first marriage, being born on November 22nd, 1877. He had not reached his sixth birthday when his mother died, but in after years he often spoke of the debt he owed to his step-mother. Anna Christina was a great home-maker. She was devoted to all the children and toiled nobly to ensure, after their father's death, the best possible education for them all. She was a loved and respected member of the Reformed Church.

The minister Jan Willem was a formidable character. "Look at his photograph," said his son John Henry. "Would you dare to argue with it? He could say '*John*' in a tone which left me cowed! My remedy was to wheedle mother against him." Tall and impressive, the

¹ Nellie Johanna (b. 1869), John William (1869), Edward John Henry (1873), Abbe Livingston (1877), Frederick Cook (1880).

² Henrietta Johanna (1885), Louise Emma (1886), John Henry (1889), Anna Christina (1891), Gerrit John (1894), George (1897), Henry (1899).

dignities of the ministerial office sat naturally upon him, and his flock expected of him the authority which found expression in his bearing. "In those days we were afraid of ministers. We were told so much to respect them that we found it safest to get out of their way. If the boys were unruly he would pick them up by the coat-collar and straighten them out." This was the comment of one of his former parishioners, speaking in her eighty-eighth year. "It was a solemn moment when he came into the church," recalled another octogenarian. "He would come slowly up the aisle clasping his top-hat before him and walking with bowed head. Then he would place his hat on the table and pray before going into the pulpit." "There was oratory in his preaching," added this remembrancer. "He could go right up in the air and come down again!"

Livingston Warnshuis, who was twelve years older than the brother who trembled at the summons "John!," recalled that his father, in spite of his calling, its dignities and its cares, found time for a warm and affectionate family life. And all the boys loved him for his love of horses. "Those were the horse-and-buggy days; no automobiles where we were living in Sioux County, Iowa. It was prairie country, with families living on widely-scattered farms, and where many of the houses were still built with 'sod-roofs.' We either walked miles and miles or used the horses and with father we could always pride ourselves on having a good team. Father loved the horses. He was in his element when

a fast beast took the bit between his teeth and the buggy went flying. Looking as fierce and determined as the horse, he would sit transfixed as he gripped the reins."

Several of Jan Willem's pastoral charges were of short duration. This was partly due to circumstances but also to something in the minister's disposition. He was at his best and happiest when getting a new community on its feet or helping to restore one that had fallen on bad days. His acceptance of the call to Clymer was in response to a plea for help voiced by his father who was an elder in the little Reformed Church there. Support had dwindled and the church building was in the hands of the sheriff under threat of a mortgage foreclosure. Within eighteen months the debt was cleared and the church flourishing. His next pastorate was his longest—at Alton in Iowa. Here he was the first minister to a newly constituted congregation and he threw himself eagerly into the task of building up the membership and raising money for the erection of a church building and parsonage. A similar task awaited him at Gano, Chicago, where again on his arrival there was a congregation of less than thirty people with no church building. Within a year the membership had been increased to two hundred and a church and parsonage built. Six months later the church was struck by lightning and completely destroyed by fire. One of his sons recalled the spectacle of his father watching the last stages of the fire, now beyond control. For a long time he stood immovable

and then fell to the ground in a faint. On the following Sunday the church members met at the ruined building and were summoned by their pastor to begin the task again. When another six months had passed a new and still better building was finished.

Behind the courage, the dogged persistence and practical ability which went into tasks of this kind there were the mind and heart of a faithful preacher and pastor. It was Jan Willem's practice to preserve in some large day-books what he entitled his "Private Record." This was mainly a listing of baptisms, marriages, and funerals and a week-by-week enumeration of his pastoral visits. Here and there notes are added concerning these visits:

"Not a Christian. I talked with him very earnestly."

"70 years old, very sick and without Christ."

"A little better today but indifferent."

"Much better but still unconcerned."

"I worked with great encouragement."

"Improving; she said 'God is good'."

"Sent for me, afraid to die."

"Attends church very regularly."

"Attends church when convenient."

"A reformed drunkard but not a Christian."

"Is now converted."

After the last Sunday in each year of these records there is a brief paragraph in which the following formula is repeated with only occasional and slight variations:

NEW HOLLANDERS

"Preached this year 112 times; whole no. 942. Another year of labor and cares is ended. How well the work has been done and the fruits that will result therefrom the great day will show."

Occasionally the even tenor of this annual summary is disturbed:

"Preached this year 149 times; whole no. 1,216. Another year is past. It has been a year of rich blessing but is ended with great care and deep sorrow. The devil is seeking to destroy me."

A year later confidence is restored:

"Preached this year 158 times; whole no. 1,374. Another year is again past. It has been a year of rich blessing and one in which the Lord has been my help and my deliverer. The counsels of those who plotted my ruin have been destroyed. The Name of the Lord be glorified."

In another year the main formula was repeated, with the brief addition:

"Often tired *in* the work but never *of* the work."

These annual summaries were continued until 1900, the last one being written a few weeks before the old warrior's death. It reads:

"Preached this year 114 times; whole no. 4,557. Again another year is passed and with it the century is closed. The harvest will tell the nature of the work done."

Church-builder, preacher and pastor. With these primary and absorbing ministries there also went a sense of public responsibility. From the standpoint of most of the Dutch settlers of the Reformed Church tradition "making the colony Christian" included some strong negations. Many of the land-deals contracted with settlers in such towns as Holland and Zeeland, Michigan, vetoed the manufacture on the property "of wines and spirituous liquors, or the opening of establishments for gaming, dancing or theatrical performances." In a local obituary notice of J. W. Warnshuis there is recorded his powerful and successful opposition to "the carnival of fun and slot machines." Affairs outside his immediate parish could also quicken his zeal and activity. He was an outspoken critic of Britain in her part in the Boer war and was President of the Transvaal League in Kalamazoo, Michigan, for the relief of widows and children of the Boers.

It was while the family was at Clymer, New York, that the son Livingston was born. In the following year (1878) the call to Alton, Iowa, came and until his eleventh year the boy's home was mainly in this little prairie town in the Middle West. His Christian names *Abbe Livingston* were an incidental consequence of the father's persistence in raising money for good causes. The sheriff was in possession of the church property at Clymer and the pastor was writing here and there for donations. The crisis was solved when one Margaret Livingston Abbe, a member of the First

Reformed Church in Albany, generously tipped the financial scale. In relief and gratitude it was decided to call the church the Abbe Reformed Church of Clymer. Jan Willem wrote to Mrs. Abbe to this effect and added that he was rejoicing in a new son as well as a new church. The response was another generous letter offering to put \$100 into a savings bank in New Albany in the child's name if the parents were willing to call him Abbe Livingston. Mrs. Abbe further expressed the hope that in due course the boy would always sign himself as *A. Livingston Warnshuis*. These terms were joyfully accepted and twenty-one years later A. Livingston Warnshuis, then a theological student, drew \$360 from an Albany bank—the original deposit with accumulated interest.

This transaction put ideas into the Reverend Jan Willem's shrewd head. Three years later the birth of another son happily coincided with the task of building the church at Alton. Again the appealing pen was busy and the responses included a check from a Mrs. Cook in New York. Once more the grateful father acknowledged receipt of a son as well as the lady's donation and indicated that Cook would be an acceptable Christian name. The device worked again but this time only to the tune of \$50, and for many years afterwards Abbe Livingston Warnshuis and Frederick Cook Warnshuis debated their respective cash values at birth.

Livingston was nine when the family moved to its brief home in New York at the request of the Board

of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church. Here the chaplaincy to immigrants on their arrival from Holland was exercised from 279 West 11th Street where the first floor of the house was converted into a meeting place for worship. Amongst the sources of help for this work there was an annual donation from the Queen of Holland—though there is no evidence that this affected the names or fortunes of other Warnshuis children. During this short ministry Livingston attended a grammar school in West 11th Street. In later years he would claim to be an old New Yorker having enjoyed home and school in Greenwich Village—and able to remember building ice huts in the street during the great blizzard of 1888.

With the return of the family to Alton, Livingston continued his schooling at what has since become the North-Western College in Orange City, Iowa. It was then known as The North-Western Classical Academy and was under the principalship of James F. Zwemer, a member of one of the great families in the Reformed Church. Three brothers and a sister of James Zwemer became ministers or missionaries to Moslems. The father of this family—Adrian Zwemer—was himself a minister of the Reformed Church. Livingston's school reports for this period show an almost monotonous standard of excellence, especially in Universal History, Rhetoric and Deportment. His average marks in all subjects never fell below 95%. From this Academy Livingston moved to the preparatory or grammar

school of Hope College with a view to following his father as a student of the College. The move was the occasion of one of the earliest formal testimonials which Livingston received and which he carefully preserved all his life. In copper-plate writing and with elaborate diction, his classmates (he was then thirteen years of age) "*RESOLVED*: that we hereby express our regret that we are deprived of the fellowship of one of our best class-mates. . . ." A succession of clauses leads to a "*FINALLY*: we indulge in the hope that many, if not all, will meet him again as classmates in a college course."

Judging, again, by official reports, Livingston's work at Hope College scarcely lacked the excellence of his preparatory school work. The marks show more of "Excellent" than "Good," and the occasional "Good" has a plus-mark attached to it. But in the grammar school years, when percentage markings were the rule, the average only once went beyond 93% and on one occasion—only one—it fell to 86 $\frac{1}{3}$ %. What his father thought of this is not recorded. It can, however, be inferred from a pencil-note written on a report which, according to this stern overseer's calculations, produced an average of 93-7/9ths%. The note reads:

"All these studies should be perfect and no 90s or 89s.
J.W.W."

It is to be presumed that the father never saw a document which this son of his preserved for the rest of his

days. It is a printed copy of *The Rules and Regulations of Hope College*, 1889. On the title page there is written: *Revised by A. L. Warnshuis* and the revision merely consists in interchanging the negatives and positives. One warning is thus happily amended to read:

“If a student does not exhibit a satisfactory degree of proficiency in any study, notice shall *not* be given to his parent or guardian . . .”

More revolutionary, especially if read alongside a 100% record in Deportment, is the revision which cheerfully removes the prohibition from “vulgar or profane language, the use of tobacco and of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, visiting billiard or drinking saloons, cardplaying, gambling, attendance upon public dances . . .”

When Livingston graduated from Hope College in 1897 the college was still very small. In his final year there were only eighteen in the senior class and the total college enrollment was eighty-eight. The college president was Dr. Gerrit J. Kollen, a political-economist, and the faculty consisted of nine other professors and two lecturers. Teaching was provided in “Ethics and Evidences of Christianity,” classical and modern languages and literature, chemistry and physics, botany, biology, zoology and geology, political economy, vocal music, pedagogy and “Mental Science.” The college magazine for 1897 *The Anchor* includes an article by

A. L. Warnshuis reporting on a senior scientific expedition in geology.

Annual reports of the college during this period record with satisfaction the high proportion of church members amongst the students, especially in the senior class, and presidential addresses include strong appeals to those who have not yet confessed Christ to make their profession and remember that this is the aim of the college. A glance at the extra-curricular activities of the students, as illustrated in successive issues of *The Anchor*, suggests—at any rate superficially—a cultural atmosphere strongly tinged with scents of the later Victorian Age in Britain. In college concerts duettists fervently wished, with Henschel, that *Oh, that we two were maying!*, while elocutionists declaimed Tennyson's *Revenge*. Debating societies waxed warm over Carlyle and Matthew Arnold as much as over Emerson and Daniel Webster, while budding poets and critics turned to Wordsworth and Ruskin. No doubt other breezes characteristic of the New World ruffled the flag of Hope, but it is interesting that in the recollection of a recent president of the college—Dr. I. J. Lubbers—"if we thought of coming to Europe in my student days, it was not to visit Holland—despite our Dutch ancestry. It was to read Wordsworth in the Lake District."

In 1897 Livingston Warnshuis took his Bachelor's degree at Hope College. This was followed by a Master's degree in 1900 and sixteen years later the

college awarded him an honorary D.D. The ministry had been in view through all his student days and in 1897 he again followed the same road as his father and entered the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in New Jersey. The Seminary stands high in reputation amongst the theological colleges in the United States. It occupies a fine site close to Rutgers University with which it has intimate historical ties. Rutgers, now a State University, was another of the pioneer educational ventures of Dutch Reformed colonists. Its charter, under the name of Queen's College, was granted in 1766 and in 1810 there was associated with it a theological professorship. This was the outcome of an action taken by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in 1784, providing for the more systematic training of the ministry. From 1784 to 1810 this teaching had been given in New York. After 1810 other theological professorships were created and these eventually constituted the faculty of New Brunswick Theological Seminary, functioning independently of Rutgers and responsible only to the General Synod of the Reformed Church.

When A. L. Warnshuis entered the seminary the president was Professor S. M. Woodbridge, and the faculty included John H. Gillespie who had recently come from Hope College, where he had been professor of Greek, to occupy the New Testament Chair at New Brunswick. It was to Gillespie that A. L. Warnshuis owed the greatest personal debt. Many years afterwards

he confessed that it was "difficult to recall all the elements that went into my decision to serve as a missionary." There was the influence of the Student Volunteer Movement and there was a sense of obligation "to respond to the representations of the religious needs of people in all the world;" but the personal influence of Gillespie sharpened these considerations and pointed compellingly to the needs of China. Livingston had been warmly responsive to Gillespie's influence while they were both at Hope College. One result of this was that Livingston took the lead, with a group of students, in visiting the neighboring churches and stimulating the formation of groups for study and prayer in the interests of foreign missions. While Gillespie's main subject at New Brunswick was the New Testament, he also lectured on the History of Missions. Long after Livingston's student years the two men continued to correspond with one another and the older man took great pride in the achievements of his former student.

Livingston's years at New Brunswick were more than a preparation for the ministry and for work in China. They were deeply congenial years for a man who had a profound sense of the importance of Christian scholarship and to whom study came easily. He cherished all his days the friendships made at New Brunswick and despite the busyness of later years and his work overseas he was the most assiduous member of the "Class of 1900" in helping to keep its members in touch with

one another, especially through a periodical letter which took the form of a "round robin." The interests of the seminary were amongst his deepest concerns and—as will be noted in greater detail in a subsequent chapter—he gave some of his best energies after returning from China to service as a member of the Board of Superintendents of the seminary and as its Treasurer.

Livingston graduated from the seminary on May 17th, 1900. A few days later, after an all-day examination, he was licensed by the Classis of Grand River in Grand Rapids, Michigan, as a candidate for the ministry, and on June 21st, after further examination, he was ordained by the same Classis as a minister and missionary of the Reformed Church in America. The ordination service was held in the Fourth Reformed Church in Grand Rapids of which his father was then minister, and the sermon was preached by Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, a Reformed Church missionary of great distinction in the Arcot Mission in South India.

Three weeks after his ordination Livingston was married in the Reformed Church in Holland, Michigan, to a young schoolteacher, Anna DeVries. The wedding took place on July 11th and on September 9th the couple sailed for China. Preaching on the eve of his departure, Livingston chose the text: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things." Recalling this service fifty years afterwards, one of his brothers said: "There were times when he could be very eloquent."

Chapter Two

LAND OF ADOPTION

FEW CHAPTERS of modern history have become subject to more searching re-appraisals than that which concerns relations between China and the West. Few re-appraisals of great events are more disputed than those which deal with this story. Integral to the subject is the part played by Christian missions and missionaries. Sooner or later—usually sooner—these come into the picture whether the standpoint from which it is drawn be political or cultural. Then, more often than not, the missionary is seen as the author, witting or unwitting, of much of the mischief. Further, if the missionary be American the assumption that he will have been in the wrong is all the greater.

This book is not another such re-appraisal, nor is it primarily concerned with the defense of the past. It is too soon to register with finality the verdict of history and the judgment which matters most to the Christian

awaits more than the written word. What is here attempted is some account of one man's devotion to China, expressed, first through twenty years' service in the land, and then by constant study and activity in relation to it. A. L. Warnshuis was a faithful Hollander and a faithful American; but affection for China and concern for its well-being were no less part of his fidelity. This loyalty began with his student days and continued to his death.

The China of 1900, when Livingston landed there, was in one of its many turbulent periods. The days of the Manchu dynasty were numbered. Japan had inflicted an overwhelming defeat on China in 1895. Partly in defense against a too powerful Japan, partly in fear of one another, Russia and the Western powers made this the occasion for winning concessions, territorial and economic, which made traditional Chinese society more than ever vulnerable to the acids of modernity. This was the context of the internal struggle which finally brought down the Manchu dynasty in the revolution of 1911 and created the new Republic.

Before this turning point was reached a fierce spurt of flame shot out of the dying embers of imperial China. An abortive plot, designed to check the reactionary influence of the Empress-Dowager, played into her hands; reformers were executed and reforming edicts annulled. In the chaos that followed, the foreigner became the scapegoat and the Boxer uprising was a wild attempt to shut the door again against the outside

world. "Protect the country; destroy the foreigner" became the watchword, and in the violence Christians were attacked as "secondary foreign devils." It has been estimated that during the terror some 30,000 Chinese Roman Catholics were killed and from three to five thousand Protestants. Forty-seven Roman Catholic missionaries (including five bishops) and 134 Protestant missionaries with 52 children were massacred.

Livingston and his wife sailed for Amoy while the Boxer rising was at its height and the Siege of Peking unrelieved. They were going to a Province—Fukien—least touched by the anti-foreign movement and saved from violence largely through the liberal outlook of its Chinese Governor. Nevertheless, the prospect for missionaries anywhere in China was, to say the least, uncertain. The boat on which they sailed would normally, at that season, have been carrying anything up to two hundred missionaries returning from furlough or newly appointed. This time there was only one other missionary on board. The Warnshuises were under instructions not to travel beyond Yokohama without further advice. Reassuring letters met them there, however, and they reached Amoy early in October.

The Fukien Province of South China, in the years before the bamboo curtain fell, was for long an area of great encouragement as well as challenge to all concerned with the Christian mission. It was notable for a number of reasons. The churches there were among the first to enjoy strong and devoted Chinese leader-

ship. Much sooner than in some other parts of China they also became free from financial dependence on the West. Partly because of these factors there were fewer marks of that separation between the "indigenous" church and the "foreign" mission which elsewhere created difficult problems, psychological and spiritual. Fukien further provided an outstandingly successful illustration of close cooperation between missionary agencies of different denominations and countries of origin. In particular, the London Missionary Society, the English Presbyterian Mission and the Mission of the Reformed Church in America had common ties going back to the pioneer days of Protestant missions in China. When, in 1927, the Church of Christ in China was fully constituted—one of the outstanding achievements in Christian unity—the Fukien Synod had already been in existence for eight years. Some of these developments took place in the decades following A. L. Warnshuis's appointment to Fukien; in all of them his contribution was of a kind which hastened progress; but, as he always realized and gratefully acknowledged, it was his good fortune to serve his apprenticeship as a missionary in a field which already possessed great advantages.

When contacts between China and the West were unimpeded by the great political rift of today, Amoy was a familiar name and port-of-call to thousands of Europeans and Americans. It is a consequence of present separations that the term "Quemoy and the off-

shore islands"—which are in the same south-east region of China—probably speaks more vividly to the present generation. But Amoy belongs to the great trading-posts of the world; its port is one of the gateways to China and its airport an international junction. For long, it was one of the main exporting points of the China tea-trade, the port of call of the great tea clippers. Its people and those of the Province of Fukien which it serves have been amongst the most enterprising, industrious and commercially successful of all the Chinese; they and the consequences of their industry are to be seen throughout Asia and far beyond.

When Warnshuis re-visited Amoy in 1931 he marveled at the transformation which had turned it into a modern and sophisticated city, rich in all the marks and amenities of material progress. But thirty years previously, when he began his work there, the scene was very different. This was the period when the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* could give Amoy the palm for being "the dirtiest city in the world." Here is Livingston's own description of it:

"The streets in Old Amoy were six and eight and ten feet wide, paved with uneven stones, and through the cracks between the stones one could see the filthy open sewer that made the air thick with odors so that it was almost impossible to breathe. The streets were always wet and slippery, but in the rainy season I remember that I was accustomed to wear knee-high rubber boots when going to the old Sin-koe-a Church. On more

than one occasion after a torrential rain storm, I remember wading through the streets in water and filth that reached almost to the top of my boots. The streets were crooked, so that the stranger walking in them was soon lost as in a maze. Up and down the hillside they were built, with stone steps, and there were such street names as 'Twenty-one Steps,' 'Eighteen Steps' and 'Top of Five Steps.' Of course, there were no wheeled vehicles, and one usually walked, pushing his way through the crowds of people and perspiring burden bearers, or stepping into a shop to let a sedan chair pass, with its bearers shouting to clear the way."

Even then, however, Amoy's position and the busy life it commanded, made it a fascinating vantage-point as well as a place of great significance in itself. Across a narrow channel—then an hour-and-a-half distant by slow junk—lay Kulangsu, a place of comfortable retirement for the more affluent merchants and at one period a competitor for the reputation of being the "wealthiest square-mile in the world."

Before his first year in China was completed Livingston wrote:

"One of our recent letters told me that some people learning of what we were doing thought it quite a snap to be a missionary . . . Perhaps those people would enjoy being where fleas are so thick that one hand is kept constantly busy chasing them; where rats own the house . . .; where ants get into all your food . . .; where cock-roaches are an inch-and-a-half long and not only

LAND OF ADOPTION

crawl but fly. We are just entering into a period where all our clothes are packed away in tin-lined boxes to keep them from molding and shoes turn green in a night . . . And there is one more thing to which we have not been able to reconcile ourselves. This is the exile from home . . . In our experience this exile from home is hardest to bear. I can't describe it. You that are at home can form not the slightest idea of it. You cannot imagine that awful longing which sometimes comes to get away from all these smells, from all this filth, and all this misery and wickedness, and to go where we can have all the pleasure that the 20th century ingenuity can devise, to have all comforts, and to be at home among friends."

Endurance was not made easier by the relative inactivity imposed by his apprenticeship status. "All you can do," he wrote, "is to grind away at the endless task of learning Chinese."

These things were normal to all missionary service and they were accepted as such. Before long difficulties of another character began to fret him. Just before leaving for China he had received a confidential letter from the secretary of the Mission Board in New York—Dr. H. N. Cobb—warning him that amongst the missionaries in Amoy "for some years there has been a very unpleasant condition of things," with "opinions very much at variance on different points." The young missionary, said Dr. Cobb, should guard against taking sides too readily. The difficulties were not unique. In part, they were due to differences between the mis-

sionaries in China and the mission administration in New York. But there were also unhappy personal relationships—acute tensions between junior and senior missionaries and sharp quarrels over the relative authority of men and women in a mission where women were in the majority. Despite Dr. Cobb's advice, it was not long before Warnshuis became a partisan in both these conflicts. Less than a year after landing in China he was writing that "the Board does not fully understand the situation here . . . I wish someone would give a new pair of eyes to some of the Board members." He was also embroiled in the local disputes in which he declared that the women missionaries far outdid the men in "bitter animosities." Two or three years later he could write in less indignant strain and report to the Board that the atmosphere had changed for the better, but these early tensions left a mark which lingered for a long time.

The grind of language study was endured and turned to good account in later years. In 1911 Warnshuis appeared as co-author with Henry P. De Pree of *Lessons in the Amoy Vernacular*, a useful text-book which was widely used for many years. Its latest edition, the third, was in 1955 when Henry De Pree and Peter Hsieh collaborated in a complete revision of the original work.¹ Livingston's chief share in this later edition

¹ This 1955 edition, published in the Philippines by the Shangkuan Press, Manila, was produced mainly for use amongst the large Amoy-speaking communities outside China.

LAND OF ADOPTION

was to make a generous gift towards the cost of publication. His keen interest in the Amoy vernacular also found expression in Bible translation. He was a member of the Committee of Revisers of the Bible in Amoy and provided the marginal references to the New Testament in Amoy.

The hazards of these early years in China included more than fevers and hurricanes. The Boxer movement had spent its force but there were occasional echoes of the hatred it expressed. For a brief period one of these rumblings was associated with violent and marauding groups in Fukien who went by the name of "White Fanners," so-called because of the fans they carried. Their ritual was to burn paper bearing mystical signs; the paper ash was then thrown into water which was drunk and this, together with the waving of the fan, was supposed to make the fanner invulnerable. One day a messenger reached Warnshuis and handed him a note hurriedly written by a colleague living thirty miles away. It read:

"White Fanners have burned residence, schools and hospital of English missionaries. One man safe, fate of others unknown. Fanners reported moving in your direction. May God save you!"

Some days previously Warnshuis had seen a notice fastened to a tree, offering fifty dollars reward for his head. Later on he became boastful of the price but meantime a diplomatic withdrawal seemed justified and within a few hours he was on the move, burdened

only by as few belongings as he could carry himself and which seemed essential—"toilet things, spare socks, a change of underwear and a few books." "When your life is in danger," he wrote, "you learn how little there is that is valuable." The episode proved, however, to be the last of the Fanners' maraudings and the danger passed.

In his second year in China Livingston was sent up-country and appointed to work in Siokhe, about sixty miles from Amoy. The journey was by river, for no road-transport other than sedan chairs was then available. The last thirty miles of the river journey took between two and three days by flat-bottomed boat propelled by poles. Siokhe was a typical mission station with its central church served by an ordained Chinese pastor, a little hospital, a school and a cluster of village outstations in the care of unordained Chinese preachers. The missionary's main responsibility was the oversight of these outstations and the care and encouragement of the Chinese workers. Warnshuis was a good walker and he enjoyed tramping in the mountainous country around Siokhe; it was his practice to refuse the use of a sedan chair for journeys of less than ten to fifteen miles. He stood up well to hard conditions, surmounting a serious bout of typhoid fever and taking lightly such hazards as the capsizing of his boat with the loss of his belongings and an uncomfortable scramble to safety. Here is an account of a typical two-weeks' tour of a circuit of villages:

LAND OF ADOPTION

"On this last trip we traveled over 150 miles. Part of the distance we rode in sedan chairs, but more than half the distance we walked on foot. The reason for our walking so much was because the roads were for the most part very mountainous. One day we started straight up the side of a mountain where the road consisted of stone steps. There are about 4,800 of them. We climbed them in little more than an hour. Then for another hour we climbed a more gradual slope until we reached the top of a pass 2,300 feet above our starting point . . .

"The scenery here is beautiful. We are completely surrounded by high mountains. There are real tigers in the mountains too. Yesterday one of the church members came down and presented us with three tiger skins and part of a fourth which had been torn to pieces by the other tigers . . ."

In his itinerant work the most lively day in the villages was the market day, held every four or five days and served by itinerant merchants. "Market day," wrote Warnshuis,

"offered an opportunity to reach the crowds that came for buying and selling. Sometimes the physician at our station would go with me to these markets, and would have a clinic in the local chapel. To make his presence known, we would sometimes early in the forenoon go to the market place, and in some open place set up a table and a chair and announce to the crowd which would usually out of curiosity gather

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

quickly around us that the doctor was ready to extract teeth without charge. Many amusing incidents followed such invitations. There were no dentists in that part of the country. There were always plenty of people around with aching teeth. But this strange offer of free service by a foreigner aroused suspicions of his motives and of what he might really do. Usually with some encouragement of the crowd, eager to see what might happen, some aged man would come forward, and, showing an almost toothless jaw, would challenge the doctor to remove some half-buried root of a tooth. The doctor's skill was often challenged in that way, but he knew what to expect when he went out to make his offer, and I never saw him fail in such an operation. An initial success would immediately result in numbers of other people volunteering to accept his offer of free service. This was effective advertising, and after a short time the doctor would announce that he was going to the chapel where he would gladly receive those who might wish to consult him about ills other than toothaches. This would bring large numbers to the chapel, then we would have an opportunity to talk with them about the mission and to sell our tracts and other literature. Such outstation clinics would also result in bringing people to the hospital in Siokhe. I always made a feature of carrying a good quantity of tracts and scripture portions for sale. I usually spent some time in the market place selling this literature."

As with many other people, Livingston's diary-keeping was fragmentary but succinct entries during his apprentice years in China are illuminating:

LAND OF ADOPTION

"Burden bearer robs my basket and gets another bearer to carry it in."

"To the dentist—a back, upstairs room, filthy and the dentist an opium smoker. After fussing a bit he refused to do anything. On to another dentist's shop. He was out but his boy, under my direction, managed to drill a hole in the filling and so relieved me. Spoke to students in evening. Working on a book on the Sacraments for preachers."

"Lecturing on Heidelberg catechism. Started algebra class. Started geometry class."

"Attended C. of E. service. White preacher. Butler faints."

"*a.m.* Service; *p.m.* belly-ache."

In his village itineration the missionary's best work was that of a *pastor pastorum* to the village preachers, many of whom were slenderly equipped for their task. Warnshuis took a special satisfaction in building up a personal library of Chinese books. By the time he had been a year in Siokhe he had bought nearly 300 volumes which he was delighted to lend to the village pastors; he reckoned to have at least fifty volumes on loan at any given moment. It was characteristic of him that he had an eye for the practical needs of the churches and he often recalled with satisfaction one of his early experiments in building-construction. In the town of Poa-a, about twelve miles from Siokhe, he found the Chinese pastor busy in the erection of a new and larger church.

“To satisfy his plans, the timber needed for the roof would require some beams of thirty or thirty-five feet in length. None of these were obtainable at that time. I suggested to him that it was possible to plan a roof truss which would not require such a heavy beam stretching the width of the building. In the course of time—I hadn’t visited the place for several months—I found that the building was proceeding. I discovered that he had made plans for a building of considerable width, dependent upon the plan of a roof truss such as I had outlined. I was a bit concerned because I hadn’t figured the necessary stresses. The roof was to be covered with tiles and the weight of such a roof is fairly large, especially when the rains would saturate the tiles.

“However, he proceeded with the building, and when I visited the place again shortly after the roof had been placed upon it I found that much to the pastor’s dissatisfaction, he had found it necessary to put in pillars in order to support these hammer-beamed trusses. This caused him a great deal of dissatisfaction because he wanted an open space in his auditorium without any pillars. So I explained to him that it was still possible to remove the pillars if he would let me put in some steel tie-rods binding together this truss. He agreed and with the help of the dry-dock in Amoy, where there was a good foundry, I had some tie-rods made, and sent up to this inland church.

“It was a very interesting experience one day for me to place these tie-rods myself. The Chinese carpenters had only their primitive tools with no augurs. I had

LAND OF ADOPTION

planned the tie-rods with two pieces which would fit like a sleeve over the ends of the beams. It was necessary, by means of an augur, to bore several holes through these beams so that bolts could be placed through. I considered that I had demonstrated my mechanical ability in the first place by boring these holes so that they came out on the other side of the beam where the steel plate was in which the bolt was to be fitted. I succeeded in fastening these tie-rods to the ends of the beams at the lower part of the truss. In the middle of the rod I had a right and left turn buckle. When I had them all bolted up I called the pastor in to see what would happen. As I turned up the turn buckle, with a good deal of creaking and groaning, I succeeded in lifting the roof off the pillars. In that way I assured the pastor that he could remove the brick pillars with complete safety because I had strengthened the truss in such a way that it would not only carry the load but could lift the load of the roof."

This Chinese pastor at Poa-a impressed Warnshuis, at first meeting, with his ability and drive. Warnshuis was also much attracted by one of the small boys in the pastor's family, a pupil in the local mission school. Years afterwards the boy became famous as Lin Yu-tang, and after the death of A. L. Warnshuis this Chinese writer of graceful English sent Mrs. Warnshuis a copy of his spiritual autobiography *From Pagan to Christian* inscribed with the words:

"In memory of your great and genial husband who helped so much to open up the mental horizon of my family."

In this reminiscent volume Lin Yu-tang recalls the building episode which he witnessed as a boy of ten or eleven and adds that in Warnshuis

"my father had met his match and they became great friends, for Mr. Warnshuis had discovered in my father a voracious appetite for all that was western and new. He introduced us to a Christian weekly called the *Christian Intelligencer*, printed on very shiny paper, with greasy, oily ink. He sent us all kinds of pamphlets and books about the western world and western science which the Christian missions in Shanghai had put out. In this way western learning came to our family."¹

In his own recollections of this period Warnshuis never ceased to marvel at the transformation wrought in a few decades in the life of such a family as this pastor's. He retained a vivid remembrance of a youthful Lin Yu-tang telling of the excitement caused whenever the missionary came to stay in the pastor's house. The greatest eagerness, said the boy, was to discover what wonderful things the visitor might leave behind him on his departure. Such "wonders," added Warnshuis, were tin cans in which food had been brought. On one occasion the discovery of a hinged

¹ Lin Yu-tang: *From Pagan to Christian* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1959).

LAND OF ADOPTION

collar-stud provided a major sensation. Years later, when Warnshuis and Lin Yu-tang met in New York the former school-boy of Poa-a was trying to find a manufacturer and market for what was claimed to be the first Chinese typewriter, designed and constructed by himself.

From his student days onwards A. L. Warnshuis combined scholarly interests and habits with a strong mechanical bent. He found nothing daunting in the diversity of demands which the work of a country station made on a missionary. He reveled in being called upon to assemble a gasoline engine, constructing with his own hands its concrete base, building a water tank on a nearby hill, and maintaining an elaborate pumping and plumbing system for the service of the hospital. Another task which would have maddened most missionaries but which he dealt with as to the manner born and with delight in its legal intricacies was the handling of mission property, tracing the ownership of land, securing valid deeds and conveyances and matching the subtleties of vendors and lawyers with his own acute business acumen. In one of these innumerable transactions it was alleged by an objector to the mission's right of acquisition that the land included three Chinese graves. There was a shadow of dubiety about this claim, but to disprove it meant taking the risk of desecrating graves—a criminal offense with consequences more serious than the legal penalty, especially for a foreigner and a missionary. Warnshuis

decided to take the risk and tackled the digging himself. The alleged graves were, in fact, nothing of the kind. "Very fortunate!" was Warnshuis's comment when his spade failed to uncover any bodies. Nearly thirty years afterwards, on one of his visits to China, Livingston recalled this episode in a comment on the changed attitudes of a new China. The city authorities of Amoy had at this time secured compulsory powers for the removal of thousands of graves covering the hillsides. To meet the building needs of a growing city these same hills were to be terraced and used as sites for modern dwellings. "What is the effect," he wrote

"of this forcible removal of the graves upon ideas and superstitions connected with the burial of the dead? I watched a group surrounding a grave that had been opened and from which a man was taking out the bones of a skeleton. I asked politely whose grave it was and a middle-aged woman replied nonchalantly, 'That is my husband who died ten years ago.' Instead of burning incense and worshipping as one might have expected her to do five years ago, she was standing by, looking on with comparatively little interest as she smoked a cigarette."

Such changes as these, he said, were

"eloquent of the passing of *feng-shui*, the 'wind and water' superstition, and the ideas about the comfort of the dragon and the relation of the location of buildings to the surrounding hills under which the dragon

lay. Are these empty hearts, swept clean of old superstition, to be reoccupied by seven worse devils?"¹

While the scale of the changes wrought within a few decades in Asia—especially in China—went far beyond the calculations of the most far-seeing observers at the turn of the century, missionaries of fifty and sixty years ago were by no means oblivious to the revolutionary possibilities of the new century. They knew that they themselves were amongst the iconoclasts and that their work was one of the forces creating new attitudes and kindling new aspirations and resolves. The "voracious appetite for all that was western and new" which Lin Yu-tang ascribed to his father was one of the products of an education provided under Christian auspices. If the terms "western" and "Christian" were too easily associated with one another and the appetite for things new was not always directed to the new life in Christ, the awareness of a new day was seen by the missionaries to be a Christian opportunity and a Christian responsibility. This was true of Warnshuis from the time when his interest in Asia had first been kindled by his old teacher Gillespie; and the realization was accompanied by a mounting sense of urgency with every year that he spent in China.

Ten years before Warnshuis left America for China a stirring call had been made upon the churches of the

¹ From an article in the *Christian Intelligencer* (The New Amoy), April 1st, 1931.

west to send a thousand new missionaries to China within the next five years. This challenge had come from the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1890—a landmark in the movement towards international missionary cooperation. The challenge was more than met. Both call and answer had behind them deep convictions about the significance of China in the years which lay ahead. The Boxer movement and all that had led to it was a stern reminder that the course would not be smooth. Yet whatever turmoil lay ahead, China was now open as never before to western influences and within this openness there was an eagerness to receive all the help that Christian missionaries could bring to an awakening people. Inevitably, the word “education,” in its western connotation, was the one most central to the aspirations of the Chinese, and it was accepted by the missionaries as a major item in their Christian obligation and opportunity.

In his third year in China, Warnshuis—an apprentice-missionary still in his twenties—began a long and agitated correspondence with the Mission Board in New York urging the need for increased staff and especially for trained educationalists. One of his most passionate outbursts on the subject was written at the height of the hot season—“We live in what may be likened to a furnace or vapor bath . . . even at night the thermometer is at 80°.” Politically, “the volcano may break out tomorrow;” the rumblings were those of the reforming movement now gathering force under the

influence of Sun Yat Sen and unleashing powers which were to be decisive in the greater revolution of 1911. Young Livingston's temper was as high as the temperature and he was himself in a mood to erupt. "Why must we lag behind?" he wrote to Dr. Cobb:

"Of the missions in China engaged in educational work, we are perhaps the only one not now giving English instruction . . . The quickening in China is surely coming, if it is not now already at hand. Oh that we might be ready, to turn these people the right way before they are led astray by western rationalism. But the Board says No! . . . Have we no message for the man who reads and thinks? We certainly have. Why are we not bringing to him in *all its force* the message of the Redeemer of the world?"

The Board was, in fact, not quite as inactive as Warnshuis assumed. A year later he was able to write a grateful letter addressed to the Classis of Grand River Reformed Church, rejoicing that "the past year in this mission has been marked by the largest reinforcement in many, many years." But, "although reinforced we cannot yet advance; our force is still far from complete;" and he begged that another six to eight recruits should be sent within a year. "It is our trust that the people on whom we are dependent for supplies will not allow us to know 'the loneliness of leaders'."

Soon after this letter was written Livingston found himself in what was probably the most despondent period of his work as a missionary. It is a by no means

uncommon experience that in his third or fourth year overseas a young missionary finds his patience and spiritual resources most severely tested. To this familiar experience was added a more than commonly violent chafing against the limitations of the Mission's resources in manpower and money, and a disillusionment occasioned by a recurrence of those personal tensions within the Amoy Mission to which allusion has already been made. Both the actions of the Board and—in Warnshuis's judgment—its lack of action in all these matters, seemed inexplicable to the depressed missionary. "I am persuaded," he wrote,

"that the board in New York cannot at that distance experience the degree of pain and sadness caused by conditions here that we feel who are face to face with them . . . The past three weeks have been the most trying I have ever experienced. Over and over again I have had to face the question of giving up the work in which my whole heart is . . . Surely this Mission is being led in most mysterious ways. Can it be that all this evil must be experienced in order to prove the error of the Board's policy?"

Spiritual loneliness at this time was part of Warnshuis's trouble. The remedy for his needs came through various channels, including assurances of deeper understanding on the part of his distant mentors than he had given them credit for and some further reinforcements of the missionary staff in Amoy. Also, it was of more than passing significance for him that a short time after

the correspondence just quoted he made his first summer visit to the hill-station at Kuliang, Foochow, where missionaries of many nationalities and denominations gathered for holiday and conference. Here he was soon writing in a very different tone:

"This is my sixth week on the mountain and my first summer here . . . The two hundred missionaries here make it possible to have good meetings, which means so much to those who are alone for the greater part of the year in country stations . . . I feel that it would strengthen our whole Amoy mission work if more of the missionaries could come over here every summer for a month or six weeks. The meetings that we have had have been of great benefit to the missionaries' personal spiritual life. One week was devoted to the Convention; it is like a Methodist Camp Meeting, toned by Anglican churchliness, American Congregationalist push, English Presbyterian saneness and Dutch Reformed Christianity."

In a new note of confidence he added:

"Many of us are going back from these meetings to shoulder musket, join the ranks, and work definitely for souls won to Christ instead of playing the general behind the lines."

It was during this health-restoring break that he began his share of the work on the Amoy Romanized New Testament. His contacts at this time with other missions and missionaries also opened up opportunities which were to determine the course of his future serv-

ice, for during these same meetings he found himself chosen to be a member of the planning committee of the Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907.

The Centenary Conference received its title from the desire to honor the memory of the first Protestant missionary to China—Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society—who arrived in China in 1807. But the main purpose of the conference was more than commemorative and its impetus lay in the growing awareness of the scale of the Christian task in China and the need for the closest possible cooperation between the Christian forces. The conference has since taken its place in that sequence of international gatherings which have contributed and given expression to the ecumenical movement. More than eleven hundred participants gathered in Shanghai, representing the missionary agencies of Europe and America as well as the main missionary forces at work in China. Though none of its delegates could guess what would happen during the second century of Protestant missions in China, the optimism which pervaded its discussions was not without apparent justification. Ninety years earlier Robert Morrison's colleague, William Milne, surveying the endeavors of the first decade's work, calculated that it would require a century of patient work to produce a thousand Christians in China. "Now," said a speaker at the Centenary Conference:

"at the end of a century we count a Church of at least 180,000 (adult) communicants, which implies a

LAND OF ADOPTION

Christian community of some 630,000 souls who have chosen the service of Christ, besides some 120,000 children and young people who are growing up in the same holy fellowship. This body of 750,000 Christian souls with its equipment of gathered spiritual experience, of Bible, hymnology and Christian literature, its places of worship, its churches, schools, colleges, hospitals, and printing presses, its ordinances of worship, its discipline of prayer and its habit of family and personal religion, with its martyrology, and its gathered memories of gracious living and holy dying—this is the wonderful fruit which one hundred years have left in our hands . . . If we try to forecast what the second century will bring, it is certain that we shall underestimate it as much as Milne underestimated the expected results of the first.”

With all its understandable optimism the Conference did not equate the current intellectual revolution in China with a turning to Christianity, but it saw the opportunity confronting the Christian messenger and believed that the opportunity should be accepted in faith. In its appeal to the churches in the West the Conference said:

“The intellectual revolution that is now going on in China is not, so far, religious, but neither is it distinctly irreligious or anti-religious. We firmly believe that it is capable of becoming a religious movement, if rightly guided and if the people are led to see that the best hopes can only be attained in Christ. On the other hand, it may rapidly deteriorate into a dis-

tinctly irreligious movement if its leadership should fall into the hands of persons who themselves are anti-Christian. Christianity has already influenced public opinion in China, though the people are not Christian. The Light of Life is dawning upon this nation while it is as yet unconscious of it, and the way is being made plain that leads to the Kingdom of God."

That other and non-Christian forces would also seize this opportunity and win the day was a possibility to be reckoned with and therefore the challenge to the Christian was the more urgent. "Within twenty years," said one of the Conference reports:

"China will have adopted Western civilization, possibly without the recognition of the Infinite Redeemer, wanting whose authority that civilization, we believe, would be more curse than blessing; urgent also, because other institutions of the West are being introduced on so extensive a scale that the Christian enterprise suffers in the eyes of the Chinese in comparison; and urgent, because life is speeding and only by this means will every soul in China have an early opportunity to hear God's terms of peace."

It is not surprising that a zealous and forceful young missionary, not yet thirty, should have warmed to notes of this kind. On his way to Shanghai in 1907 Warnshuis wrote a long message to the supporters of his own Mission Board in America, translating this general picture into the specific terms of the area in which the Reformed Church Mission was working:

LAND OF ADOPTION

“The field is not unlimited, for its boundaries are clearly defined. Its population is estimated at three million souls. Geographically, complete evangelization means that throughout our Reformed Church districts there shall be churches and chapels so located that no one need walk more than five miles to attend regular Christian services. With reference to the population, it means that there shall be at least one Chinese preacher or minister to every five thousand people. No less than this force of six hundred men is sufficient to proclaim the Gospel message, and finally upon the Chinese Church itself will rest the responsibility of preparing a still larger number of pastors to nourish and otherwise care for the souls of these three million men, women and children. There must also be schools that shall provide a Christian education for all the children of Christian parents, so that Christian men and women shall be fitted to occupy every rank and position in literature and science, in the business and the political life of China. These schools must also train the ministers and leaders of the Christian Church, who in number must be equal to those of the Reformed Church in America. These schools in every grade and department must equal or excel all non-Christian schools.”

In this precise, mathematical analysis of the task, the young Warnshuis was envisaging a need in a manner which became characteristic of his leadership in later years. Fervor and devotion to a cause were always accompanied by this business-like approach which

would break up a problem into its component parts and examine the administrative implications of a general policy. This was the way to get things done. So even before the Centenary Conference had opened, his colleagues and supporters in America were receiving detailed notice of what was in store for them and not only for "the west" in general.

The policy which Warnshuis was so zealously advocating was not thought of as a mass arrival in China of foreign missionaries from America, even if this had been deemed possible. What Warnshuis was chiefly anxious to see was the meeting of great opportunities by *Chinese* Christians trained for the task. In this he and his colleagues in the planning of the Centenary Conference were very far-seeing. It is worth underlining the fact that this was a policy being formulated and championed by these men nearly sixty years ago. Here is Warnshuis writing again to friends in America:

"As the work of evangelization progresses, the nature of the foreign missionary's duty is modified. The first need today is not so much to find disciples, as to train those we have, that they and not we may extend the Kingdom of God in China. The missionary staff need not be greatly increased. As the work in the missionary field succeeds, the proportion of foreign workers and expense should decrease. The problem of complete evangelization resolves itself into the problem of gathering and training a sufficient force of native workers. It does not involve a tremendous drain upon the force

LAND OF ADOPTION

of workers needed in America to continue and carry on the work of the church there. The Chinese Christians must more and more be ready to take the place of the missionary."

America's opportunity—as Warnshuis saw it—was to provide the means of training, to lend its best men and women as teachers, and to undergird the Chinese churches as they shouldered their own task.

Two years after his participation in the Centenary Conference, Warnshuis was moved from Siokhe and appointed by his Board to a more central post in the Amoy Mission. His new base of operations was Kulangsu where he was more strategically placed for exercising the gifts of leadership which were so clearly apparent in him. It was in line with much for which he had already been agitating that he was now charged with special responsibility in the educational work of the Mission, including the training of pastors. On fundamental policy, at any rate, there was at this time no divergence between the Mission Board in New York and Warnshuis. Writing from New York Dr. Cobb said:

"The Committee feels that there is nothing more pressingly important now for the Amoy Mission than to develop the instrumentalities which will enable it to put in the field a large number of well qualified preachers and teachers and so broaden the work throughout the entire field."

The Board had therefore decided, continued Dr. Cobb:

“that Mr. Warnshuis be assigned to residence on Kulangsu, that he may be able, as he is in the judgment of the Committee qualified, to take part in the work of theological instruction and also to lay the foundations of a normal department . . . There are other things also in which Mr. Warnshuis might serve the Mission, for example, in developing and coordinating the educational work in general and also in taking charge of the evangelistic work on Amoy Island. The Committee cannot overlook the fact that Mr. Warnshuis has taken deep interest in the current developments in China and has also been active in the endeavor to make these developments and movements known to the Church at home. It judges that the Central position at Amoy will enable him to continue this useful work which he has so successfully begun . . .”

In transferring Warnshuis to this new appointment the Board was in fact acting against the majority view of the missionaries in Amoy, but Dr. Cobb expressed the hope that the Board's decision “will be cordially acquiesced in, if not accepted, by all the members of the Mission and the recommendation carried out in good faith.” It had been noted with satisfaction, he added, that although the Amoy missionaries had been divided on the matter, “the discussion of this question in the Mission was thoroughly amicable and harmonious, with no manifestation of unpleasant feeling.” The course of Christian love in Amoy had not always run smooth.

LAND OF ADOPTION

The Board's confidence in this new appointment was not misplaced. In the reshaping of the Mission's educational work, in developments in the training of the ministry, and in the growth of cooperation with other missions, Warnshuis gave the lead which was expected of him. In some directions his contribution mainly lay in bringing new strength to undertakings already embarked upon. This was true of his share in the development of what became known as the South Fukien Theological Seminary at Kulangsu. Agreement had been reached in 1906 to establish this seminary under the joint auspices of the London Missionary Society, the English Presbyterian Mission and the Reformed Church Mission. Largely owing to chronic shortage of staff the project was slow in getting under way and even in 1910 there were misgivings about its possible continuance. Warnshuis fought hard to maintain and strengthen it. At a time when his responsibilities included the launching of a normal school, the editing of a monthly church magazine, and a large amount of editing and publishing work for the Chinese Tract Society, the business management of a hospital, the care of mission properties, and the organization of far-reaching evangelistic plans, he was teaching for six hours a week in the seminary and taking the lead in policy discussions between the three missions with a view to the better ordering of the entire educational work in Amoy. Yet his letters at this time could also include such items as this:

"I have sold two windmills and pumps in the past two weeks and did it as a bit of missionary work. They were sold to two of the wealthiest men in Amoy city for use in their gardens. If they work well, and there is no reason why they should not, it will probably mean that a number of other people will buy . . . The business part of it I shall hereafter turn over to one of our Christian business houses; what I am specially interested in is to become intimately acquainted with these men and to win their confidence."

"With all this work on hand," he wrote to his former classmates, "it is impossible not to be happy!" Even this catalogue of responsibilities does not tell the whole tale. In 1912 Warnshuis was busy on a scheme for starting a canning factory in Amoy in the hope that through better paid employment Chinese Christians could hasten the self-support of their Church. In the same year he accepted a pressing invitation from the Chinese Anti-opium Society to act as honorary adviser and to speak in their campaigns. This was an interest and a responsibility which were to make bigger claims on him later on. And within a few months of all this he had become a member of the Amoy Municipal Council, stepping into the secretaryship of the Council and bringing order out of chaos in its affairs following the maladministration and suicide of its previous secretary.

Against this background, a letter written by Warnshuis in 1914 becomes the more revealing:

LAND OF ADOPTION

"It will be some surprise to you as it was to me—to learn of the joint arrangement by the three Missions by which I shall be the administrative secretary of the special evangelistic campaign next autumn . . . In one way I am sorry to have my other plans interrupted in this way—and in another way I am very glad of this chance to reach out into this new field where the Church has never yet been able to go. Some people have thought that I was over-emphasizing our educational work—but really I was pushing that only because it seemed to me to be the demand of the times and because our Mission had dropped behind in this part of its work. I am glad now to be able to show that after all it is evangelism that is the motive and aim of every part of our work. I am glad also that I may soon reap the fruits of that wider cultivation of friendship among business men and literati which has included the selling of windmills and the visiting of schools and other merely formal calls. Even Municipal Council work is included . . . I am deeply conscious of the heavy responsibility. The Church is facing these large numbers of literati and big business men who are most friendly. Only as the Church has real spiritual life in itself can it bring life to these influential classes . . ."

A week before writing this letter Warnshuis had made one of his rare refusals of an offer of more work and responsibility:

"I have had a most extraordinary experience. It is nothing less than that I have received the present of a

newspaper, and after declining it twice, the present is still being urged upon me. It is the daily paper . . . the only one in this province still in Chinese hands. The offer is unconditional and includes absolute and complete control both financially and editorially . . . I cannot manage to find the time and there is nobody else here who can. Why must we let so many opportunities slip through our fingers because of lack of workers?"

In 1912 Warnshuis made his first personal contact with two men whose influence was to determine the course of all his subsequent work. These were John R. Mott and J. H. Oldham who were then visiting China to follow up some of the recommendations of the historic World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh 1910.

Edinburgh 1910 has now passed into history as one of the great moments in the story of the Church universal. Many volumes have been written about the event and its continuing influence and no attempt is here made to retell the tale. Fifty years later, in the same city of Edinburgh—with Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother present—there was held in St. Giles Cathedral a great commemorative service attended by the presidents of the World Council of Churches and the members of its Central Committee. Similar thanksgiving services for this fifty year old event were held in Westminster Abbey, in the Riverside Church, New York, in Toronto, Canada, in the capitals of Europe and in countless places in Asia and Africa. In some of

these services there was a commemorative roll-call of representatives and leading participants in this fifty-year chapter in the ecumenical movement. In the services in Edinburgh, London and New York the name of Abbe Livingston Warnshuis appeared in this recital.

As with other historical landmarks, Edinburgh 1910 was one outstanding event in a long series of happenings. The meeting could not have assumed the significance it acquired if there had not been antecedent gatherings concerned with the same great end—the evangelization of the world and the drawing together of the Christian forces in obedience to the most central elements in their calling. A most important example of these earlier meetings was the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900, held in New York. This was the result of American initiative, but it included a number of Asians in its membership as well as leading representatives of the European missionary societies. It adopted the word “ecumenical” in its title because—so it was declared—“the plan of campaign which it proposes covers the whole area of the inhabited globe.” It was of more than passing significance that the young chairman of the youth committee of this conference was one John R. Mott. Another of the tributaries to Edinburgh 1910 was the China Centenary Conference of 1907 in which Warnshuis had already participated. Even more important than these preparatory steps towards 1910 was the systematic program to which the

Edinburgh Continuation Committee applied itself and by which the general concerns and findings of Edinburgh and the pattern of cooperation there envisaged were applied to particular situations in various parts of the world. The result was a series of Continuation Committees set up in various parts of Asia and Africa. In many instances these were the precursors of National Christian Councils—permanent organs of cooperation in which missions and churches of diverse denominations engaged in regular consultation, formulated common policies in such matters as education, medical policy, and relations with Government, and undertook joint action in many fields of Christian service and witness. China was the scene of one of the most effective of these Continuation Committees and it was one of the countries which Mott and Oldham, chairman and secretary respectively of Edinburgh 1910 and the chief architects of the conference, visited personally in order to help forward the new developments.

China had loomed large in the thought of the Edinburgh meeting. The ferment into which Warnshuis had gone in 1900 had reached boiling point. A year after Edinburgh there came that decisive revolution in China's history which, momentous in itself, was also a portent of that radical shift in East-West relationships which is proving to be perhaps the most revolutionary feature of this revolutionary century. For the moment, at any rate, to those who conferred at Edinburgh in 1910, China was an open door to the emissaries of the

LAND OF ADOPTION

Gospel and to the service which they could render in Christ's name through education, medicine, social service and personal friendship and—most of all—by their testimony to Him who came that men might have life and have it more abundantly.

"This is a great time to be in China," wrote Warnshuis during the height of the 1911 revolution:

"for it is a wonderful thing for a nation to change its form of government, and it is an extraordinary experience to see at close range such a multitudinous country make such a change. It is a fourth of the human race that is casting off the customs and ideas of many centuries and adopting those of the most modern nations of the world. The changes are not only political or sociological, but they are intellectual and religious. The significance is tremendous and involves the whole world."

As one who had played a prominent part in the Centenary Conference of 1907 Warnshuis was naturally drawn into the consultations which resulted in the formation of the China Continuation Committee. He attended "Mott conferences" in Canton and Shanghai, chaired various sub-committees and was in demand as a good draughtsman of reports. Writing of one of these conferences under Mott's leadership early in 1914 he declared that the conference "marks an epoch in our missionary history. The findings are the nearest approach to a science of China missions that has yet been made. The organization of a China Continuation

Committee promises to accomplish a great deal to unify the Church and its work in China."

This was written while the conference was in session. A few days later, when the meeting was over, he had another communication to make to New York:

"At the closing session, upon the recommendation of the Nominations Committee, after most earnest prayer and by a rising vote in a most solemn manner, the Committee extended a unanimous call to me to give my whole time to the work of the Committee as its National Evangelistic Secretary. It is impossible to exaggerate the greatness of the position for which the Committee is trying to find a man. So far I have given no answer. The call has come to me as a great surprise, so I have asked for time. Today I was told that Dr. Mott proposed my name a year ago when he was here. . . . I am studying the effect of this step on the work of our own Mission and I am also forced to think of the present evangelistic opportunities in China and the duty of the Church to face them *as a Church*."

Among those who had shared in this invitation was Bishop Logan H. Roots, of the Anglican Diocese of Hankow, who urged that the work was of such paramount importance that it ought to take precedence over the needs of any one church or mission. In the prior discussion of names, Roots had said that he would use his influence to secure the right man "even if the choice falls on someone who seems indispensable to the Anglican communion." The essential thing was to

find "a man of great wisdom who has the confidence in a peculiar way of all the missionary body." In writing to Warnshuis later Bishop Roots said that since first meeting him at the Centenary Conference in 1907 he had looked upon him "as one of the vigorous factors in the remarkable and steady growth of the missions and churches in the Amoy region." "You have inspired confidence and affection," he added. Another senior adviser was G. H. Bondfield of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Bondfield wrote:

"We all know that your whole heart is in this work, and all sections of the missionary body have confidence in you . . . Then there is your intimate knowledge of the Chinese Church. Few men have been brought into closer touch with organized Chinese church life, with country congregations, with Chinese pastors, with the half-trained preacher and other classes of workers. You know both the strength and the limitations of the Chinese pastorate. Further, no one who knows you would doubt that you are a man of spiritual force."

Warnshuis was soon convinced that he ought to accept, but eighteen months passed before he was able to convey his decision. The delay was due to the reluctance of his own Board to release him and to the strong pressure of his colleagues in Amoy. This was exerted upon the Board as well as upon Warnshuis, in the conviction that he ought to stay at his post in Amoy and complete the many new projects which were largely

due to his initiative. The burden of indecision greatly fretted Warnshuis during this period and the situation was not eased by the tone of reproach which crept into the long drawn out correspondence. His hard-pressed fellow missionaries in Amoy spoke of the "wrong" of his going and the secretary of the Board in New York wrote gravely on the subject of loyalty. Nor were lessons from the past omitted. "For reasons well-known and scarcely calling for an enumeration," wrote one of his colleagues, "your relations to the Board, the Mission, and even to individual missionaries, have at times been put to a strain but never to the breaking-point. The advanced policies you advocated have often been balked and the visions you saw have been blurred: but the policies are being adopted and the visions about to materialize." Could Livingston not see in the need to stand by his own Mission at such a moment "a counter-call of God?" At long last, however, the decision was taken and with the Board's "regretful acquiescence" he was released from Amoy. "We do not doubt," wrote the secretary of the Board in a graceful letter of farewell, "that you have sincerely sought the Divine guidance and have acted upon His leading." Typical of other letters of goodwill was one from Bishop Roots in which he said:

"Looking at your decision from the point of view of the Anglican Communion, I think I recognize in it a vital step in the awakening of our communion to a new sense of its responsibilities for more direct evan-

gelistic work and for a more wholehearted cooperation with Christian people not of its own communion . . . Similar ideas have been growing in the minds of other people regarding the significance of your work for other great communions and very diverse interests."

The invitation to this new post had been made in May, 1914. Warnshuis was finally released in January 1916 and he moved to Shanghai early in March. In spite of his unsettled condition during this time and his many administrative responsibilities, he was continuing to give much of his time and thought to the great evangelistic needs which faced the missions in Amoy as in other parts of China. For some years already Warnshuis and his colleagues had been straining all their resources to cope with the astonishing opportunities for Christian witness which the 1911 revolution had created. For a year or two after 1911 evangelistic optimism was at its peak and the promise of responsiveness seemed to rest on unassailable evidence. "Unless the signs utterly fail," wrote Warnshuis in December 1911,

"this revolution means momentous opportunities for Christianity. In many ways it is the fruit of missionary work, not directly but as the result of the working of the leaven. Many of its leaders are Christians. Here in South Fukien, the Christians in every place are playing leading roles, and with the general approval of the people. The Vice-President of the Provincial Assembly—one of our own young men, a member of our Chiang-

chiu church—has now become the Provincial Treasurer in the Rebel Provisional Government. In Chiang-chiu some of the principal advisers of the provisional government are Christians; so too in Chuan-chiu. I have been told that in some places the people are saying that the whole revolution seems to be a Christian movement, judging from the important part that the Christians in their neighborhood are taking. This is all most significant. The possibility of the Manchus returning to power need not be seriously considered. The simple fact is that this is a great uprising of the people, and in it the Christians are taking their share, and because of their strength and courage it is an important share. So the outcome will include religious freedom, and a greater readiness on the part of all classes to consider and accept Christian truth."

There was even a moment when the new central Government under Yuan Shih-Kai showed an embarrassing disposition to make Christianity the authorized religion of the New China. In certain Provinces not only was State recognition given to Christian schools but it was forbidden to teach the Confucian classics in schools. Warnshuis wrote during this period—early 1913—in a state of feverish excitement:

"Our hearts have been greatly stirred by the 'Order' issued by the Central Government, calling upon the Christian Churches to set apart a day for special prayer to God. Previous to the Revolution, China's Emperors

from time immemorial have formally recognized their responsibility to the Supreme Lord of lords. For a time, it seemed as tho' the Revolution had swept away this great idea. But now, suddenly there has come this recognition of the God of the Christians. No other God has been recognized by the Republic. Neither Taoists nor Buddhists are asked to pray, but Christians only. The nations are still hesitating to recognize China's government, but what if God shall recognize it? 'Them that honor me, I will honor.' The meaning and result of this great day of intercession to the Living God by all Christendom in behalf of China, who can foretell? Who can understand the thunder of God's mighty deeds? In Amoy, the day was observed by all the churches. In the afternoon, union meetings were held both in Amoy and on Kulangsu. The meeting in Amoy was in our Tek-chhiu-kha Church, and it was attended by the leading Government officials, who made brief speeches. In these speeches there was a remarkable recognition of God, and earnest requests for the prayers of the Christian people. I never expected to attend such a meeting."

Not for the first—or last—time in the story of the Christian mission, evangelical fervor and expectancy became fused with a patriotic sense of the special calling of the missionary's own nation:

"No nation has a larger opportunity or responsibility in influencing China than the U.S.A. for, more than ever before, the Chinese people believe in our disinterestedness, while their suspicion of England and

other European powers is growing constantly. It is generally recognized that the success of the recent evangelistic efforts of Dr. Mott and Mr. Eddy among the student class was aided largely by the fact that these men are Americans. It is being said openly that no other nation could send representatives to China now that would receive such a ready hearing as these two men have had. This is a tremendously powerful call to the American churches to greatly increase their work in China. Now is the time. For the work is not yet finished, but only well begun. This great day of prayer is one that calls us to renewed effort to make plain to this people the truth of God, and of salvation in Christ Jesus. The order has been telegraphed to every part of the country that men should pray to the Christian's God in behalf of the government. But the people need to be told who that God is, and how we may approach him, and receive his blessing. Surely NOW is the time when the Church should send us all the men and all the money that we can use. And there should be constant, earnest prayer that we may know how best to use our opportunities. May God find us willing in this great day of his power."

The visits of John R. Mott and G. Sherwood Eddy to China during these years were, in fact, evoking an astonishing response, not only in interest but in eager acknowledgement of the claims of Christianity. The response may have been too easy and some of the eagerness misleading but it is not surprising that the missionaries felt the exhilaration of great days. Writing

of a prospective visit from Sherwood Eddy to Amoy in 1914, Warnshuis said:

"You have heard or read of the great results of the evangelistic work of Dr. Mott and Mr. Eddy last year. For example, in Foochow four thousand people attended Mr. Eddy's addresses every day. Over fifteen hundred inquirers were enrolled, of whom over seven hundred were organized in Bible classes. Six months later, two hundred and fifty-five had been baptized as full church members, and month by month since then the number of additions to the church, directly traceable to those Eddy meetings, continues to grow. Our plans now are to arrange for such a campaign, not merely in the provincial capital, but in thirteen of the largest cities in the province."

It is significant that Warnshuis could add:

"The arrangements are centering in the Chinese Churches. As missionaries, we are working simply as assistants on the committees appointed by the churches."

Eddy himself wrote in October of this year of his reception in Peking:

"The President received us, the Vice-President gave us a reception and asked for an address, the cabinet ministers seemed almost to vie with others in granting us a site within the Forbidden City, in granting a half-holiday to all government students to attend the first lecture, and cooperating in every way."

Appraising the situation in the Fukien Province, Eddy believed that there would be "a far larger fruitage than in any other part of China. The need of the hour is for the awakening of the Church to meet this situation." It was in relation to this need, he added, that "the man unanimously chosen by the leaders of China to bring the churches into line with this great evangelistic movement is, as you know, the Reverend A. L. Warnshuis." This letter was addressed to the Reformed Church Board in New York. Writing to Warnshuis he said: "You are a man after my own heart and I look forward to a close and true friendship with you in this work."

The subsequent experience in Amoy exceeded even Eddy's expectations. Here is part of the account he wrote on leaving China:

"On the opening day of the public meetings more than five thousand filled the mat-shed which had been temporarily erected for the meetings in an open square of the city. For an hour I showed from charts the material bankruptcy of China due to her moral bankruptcy. Feeling was so deep that some of the men were in tears. I spoke so strongly against graft and corruption in official and business life that I was not sure how they would receive it. The attendance on the second night, however, was even more remarkable. It was raining and we were expecting that the meeting would be postponed, as Chinese do not come out in their silk garments and cloth shoes on a rainy night.

LAND OF ADOPTION

Upon arrival at the hall, however, we found that men had taken off their undergarments to wipe the wet seats and sit upon these garments. The rain kept coming through the porous mat-shed, but in spite of this fact over three thousand men sat for an hour as we spoke upon sin, endeavoring to drive home conviction on dishonesty, gambling and impurity, which are the besetting sins of the city. On the third night more than four thousand men came to the meeting, twice filling the hall. When it was asked how many were ready to become earnest inquirers and to join Bible classes some twelve hundred non-Christian men gave in their names. Side by side there were millionaires, students, officials and business-men who gave in their names as inquirers."

In illustration of Eddy's conception of evangelism it is worth adding this further paragraph from his report:

"Following the evangelistic meetings a campaign of social service in education, sanitation and moral reform is to be conducted throughout the province. The section on sanitation is to be in charge of the missionary doctors and hospitals of the province. Some sixty per cent of the children of China die before they are two years old. Plague, cholera, smallpox and other diseases sweep away numbers who could be saved by scientific sanitation. We aim not only at the saving of individuals but at the bringing in of the Kingdom of God and the establishment of a new social order in this long stagnant and once changeless empire. The whole tide is rising. In every province yet visited the

governors and officials seem almost to have vied with one another to cooperate with this Christian movement. When in all history has such an opening been presented to reach the leaders of a nation? This is the decisive decade for China."

In this Amoy campaign Warnshuis, in addition to his organizing responsibilities, was one of a team of speakers working with Eddy. His Chinese colleagues on the team were David Yui, Uong Gang Huo, Uong De Gi and Ding Li Mei. Almost immediately after this strenuous campaign, although he had not yet taken up his work as National Evangelistic Secretary, Warnshuis was absorbed in plans, with members of the Continuation Committee, for an even larger campaign in several Provinces, to be led within the following two years by Sherwood Eddy and Robert E. Speer. Writing of this in March 1915, he could—surprisingly—deal almost lightly with the fact that the First World War had been raging for seven months:

"The Great War has affected us only indirectly . . . We feel the tightened financial situation. But, on the other hand, we have not felt the difficulties that were expected in the so-called breakdown of Christendom and the criticism that this would awaken in the minds of non-Christians. For that we are very thankful. Occasionally some enquirer will raise some questions on that score but they are never very difficult. Our faith is strong that this war will make possible greater things for the Christian Church throughout the world

LAND OF ADOPTION

. . . We are therefore looking for large reinforcements and making large plans for a strong advance."

This organizing work moved into a still more intensive phase when in 1916 Warnshuis moved to Shanghai and began to give his whole time to his new task. He found himself inundated with requests from various missions in all parts of China, for information and advice on the organizing of campaigns, the training of workers, and the consolidation of results. Typical of his reports during this period is the following:

"I have just returned from ten weeks in North and Central China, and expect now to have a month here to assimilate all I have learned, and to try to make it useful to others . . . I think I am not deceiving myself in believing that evangelism is regaining its central place in the missionary enterprise in China . . . The policy I have been trying to emphasize this summer has been not to hold great meetings, unless there are strong indications that they should be held, but that every effort should be made to awaken a stronger evangelistic spirit and activity amongst membership of the churches, that the Chinese Church may be truly a missionary church."

Although his main occupation had almost become his preoccupation, Warnshuis could occasionally glance at the setting in which he pursued his task:

"These journeys, amounting to 6,000 miles or more, help one to appreciate what the new railways in China

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

now make possible. Places that formerly were six weeks' journey distant from Shanghai are now reached in four or five days. If I were writing a *book* of travels, I should have much to write of the new Japanese city of Dalny, reminding one in some ways of a western town boomed by Americans; of Manchuria, so different from the South China that I have known for these sixteen years, and so full of political interest in view of the encroachments of the Japanese; of Peking, most oriental of capital cities, and glorious in gold and paint renewed for the coronation of another emperor who, by the opposition of his people, was forced to indefinitely postpone that day; of the Yang-tze River; of Honan;—but my travels were to see men, and these things were incidental.”

“The work that I am trying to do relates itself to a great many other things,” wrote Livingston, when in the midst of preparations for an evangelistic forward movement. “By request I have taken up two other subjects—the self-support of the Chinese Church and how to transfer administrative responsibility from the foreign missions to the Chinese Church. Experience gained in Amoy has made it possible to take up these subjects.” Warnshuis was always in the advance-guard of the movement which concentrated on strengthening the indigenous Church and giving it full recognition as the place where authority and responsibility must rest. In this he acknowledged, gratefully and proudly, that he served a Mission Board whose policy had been

in line with this long before Livingston Warnshuis came on the scene. Further, his neighbor Missions in Fukien—the London Missionary Society and the English Presbyterians—were agencies to whom this theme of the freedom and responsibility of the indigenous church were specially congenial. This applied to the realm of Church Order no less than to matters of administration. The pioneer Protestant mission in Fukien—the London Missionary Society—was jealous of its constitution, which, written in 1796, contained the clause:

“As the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a *fundamental principle of The Missionary Society* that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen; and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God.

As far back as 1862 a decisive stage had been reached in Fukien in the attitude of both the English Presbyterians and the Reformed Church Mission to the emerging

Chinese Church. At an historic meeting in Amoy (the proceedings were in Chinese) it was resolved to found a single Presbytery covering the congregations within the areas of both Missions. From the standpoint of the Reformed Church Mission this was, in fact, a contravention of a ruling laid down five years previously in America by the Synod of the Reformed Church. This required that Chinese converts in the area of the Church's mission should be constituted into a *classis* by the Church in America, thus becoming an integral part of that Church, "organized according to the established usages of our branch of Zion." In the light of this ruling the American Synod refused to give its approval to the action of the Amoy missionaries and rebuked them and their leader—J. Van Neste Talmage, one of the greatest of the pioneers—for failure to obey regulations. The missionaries stood firm and threatened to resign rather than be parties to the separation of their converts from those of their English Presbyterian brethren. If the Synod in America insisted on their complying with the resolution of 1857, "we can see no other way than to recall us and to send hither men who see clearly their way to do that which to us seems wrong." No further disciplinary action was taken, but in 1864 face was saved by a Synod resolution permitting the missionaries to defer indefinitely strict compliance with the regulations, "in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the mission in Amoy;" meantime the Synod did not "deem it necessary or proper to change the missionary

policy defined and adopted in 1857." It may here be noted that in 1907, gratefully recognizing that in practice the Synod had long since approved and even encouraged the policy for which the missionaries had fought in 1862, Warnshuis proposed to the Mission Board in New York that the Synod be asked to rescind a regulation which had become a dead letter. "Let sleeping dogs lie," was the advice of Dr. Cobb. "There will always be critical or querulous spirits who will discuss a question of that sort without sufficient knowledge of its conditions and antecedents and to very little profit."

Warnshuis rejoiced in the story of his rebellious predecessors and was always thankful that the general outlook and spirit of his home church was better than one of its defied regulations. While he was not slow to exercise personal leadership he tried consistently to see his own work in China as contributing to the strength and independence of the Chinese Church. Any task which gave promise of securing this end gave him special satisfaction. One of his early undertakings was to provide what became the first Book of Church Order of the South Fukien Church. His orderly mind had been surprised and not a little shocked to discover, soon after his arrival in China, that the Church which had grown out of the original Presbytery organized in 1862 possessed no written constitution or book of Church Order. During the next few years, as part of his study of the Chinese language as well as for the main purpose

he had in view, he sought the aid of his Chinese teacher in plodding through the whole of the official records of the Church. On the basis of these he "compiled the legislation that seemed to me to express principles or establish standards or procedures of permanent value."¹ When the result of this long personal exercise was seen by one of the Chinese pastors its value to the whole Synod in Amoy was at once recognized and the published Book of Church Order was the result.

Neither the Chinese Christians in South Fukien nor their missionary colleagues were content with a unity limited to those who had received the Gospel through missionaries of a Presbyterian tradition, even though these embraced the two different national and ecclesiastical characteristics represented by the English Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Missions. The close collaboration between these two Missions and the London Missionary Society, in theological training as well as in general educational work, was eventually extended to the organized life of the churches. In 1919 all the Chinese churches in South Fukien served by the three missions were united in a single Synod of South Fukien. This action was part of a wider process which was to result in 1922 in the convening of the First Provincial Assembly of the Church of Christ in

¹ Warnshuis alludes to this exercise in an article contributed to the report of the Tambaram Meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938. See *The Growing Church*, Oxford University Press, Tambaram Series, Vol. II.

China (*Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui*). Discussions towards this goal had begun in 1914; the great project began to take shape in 1918 and when the first fully constituted General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China was held in 1927 its communicant membership of 120,000 comprised between one-third and one-fourth of all the Protestant communicants in China. Its churches were in nineteen out of the twenty-two Provinces of China and the work of fourteen different missionary societies was united within it. Of the twelve Synods into which it was divided the first two to be constituted on the new basis were the Synods of Kwantung and South Fukien. These later developments took place after Warnshuis had left China but he had been amongst those who had most clearly envisaged the goal and had most consistently aided the churches in China to reach it.

Warnshuis ceased to live in China, except for brief return visits, early in 1921, five years after taking up the work of National Evangelistic Secretary in Shanghai. This last phase of his service in China covered, in fact, much less than five years, for in October 1919 he had left for his furlough in America, and by the time he returned for a final few months in Shanghai he was already under appointment to the International Missionary Council. This furlough was unusual in that he was largely occupied as *locum tenens* for one of the secretaries of his own Board of Foreign Missions. In a

tribute to this service the Board placed on record in 1921 its gratitude for the "sympathetic understanding and clear interpretation of conditions both at home and on the Fields." "He has made for himself," continued the resolution, "a place of warm regard both among the members of the Board at home and the missionaries abroad with whom he has corresponded . . . Through his many activities he has been brought into relations with a wide circle of men and women who have freely expressed their indebtedness to him for his helpful cooperation."

The China to which Livingston returned in 1920 was already beginning to look very different, even to the most optimistic missionary, from the land of open doors which Warnshuis had glowingly described a few years earlier. Although eagerness to profit by the technical skills of the West was still apparent, it was accompanied by a growing distrust of the western nations. While the war was still on, Japan had confronted China with the notorious "Twenty-one demands" which, if accepted, would have made her a vassal state. That Japan was an ally of Britain and that a few years later the Allied Powers were parties to a post-war settlement which seemed to encourage Japanese imperialism still further, aggravated this suspicion. Alongside these fears concerning the true intentions of the West was the chronic internal disorder in China which marked the ebb and flow of the political revolution. Livingston watched the deepening confusion with a sober awareness of its

LAND OF ADOPTION

possible consequences for the cause of Christ. He was still eager that, so long as the opportunities were there, especially in the realm of education, the Christian missionary movement should seize and use them to the full: but he was less sanguine—possibly less naive—than he had been when the western evangelist as well as the western teacher were amongst the most favored visitors to China. “We see now,” he wrote, in the early twenties:

“that the work of making the world Christian is greater than we thought fifteen years ago. We talk of the progress of missions, but other things have moved faster. The work is more complex and more difficult than it has been. If physical differences are less, the intellectual and spiritual opposition is greater. Further, the most powerful hindrance to the spread of the Gospel lies in the non-Christian character of our western civilization where Christ has been preached for hundreds of years. Missionaries can only accomplish the purpose of their mission if they are representative of Christendom.”

To the end of his days Warnshuis would retain the fundamental confidence of an “old China hand” in the future of the land of his adoption. Even in 1951 he could write:

“Our minds are troubled because Christian missionaries are compelled to leave China. There have been other missionary crises in China . . . There was a long

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

time when missionaries could not enter . . . But Christianity has taken root and is there to remain. My faith and expectation are undiscouraged. Onslaughts there may be, as well as some defeats and some defects, but the outcome is assured.”¹

Yet he knew that things would never be the same as he had known them in his apprentice years or as in the days of his great predecessors in Fukien. “We cannot go on in a dream world,” he said, “hoping that the heyday of the past will be reproduced.” It was a new world as well as a new China for which he looked. “We must get away from the idea that America will take over the world,” he wrote in 1942. “We must seek a world society in which none dominates over any other.” Within such a vision his hope and expectation for China were rooted in love of the land and its people as well as of their rightful Lord and Savior. And for A. L. Warnshuis love always meant service. “In days of vast changes and difficulties,” wrote a British missionary to Warnshuis on his retirement, “how much your long years of service have meant for China.”²

¹ In *The Christian Intelligencer*, March 1957.

² The Rev. Ronald D. Rees.

Chapter Three

CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

"DR. MOTT proposed my name." When Warnshuis wrote in 1914 that John R. Mott had picked him for work with the China Continuation Committee he was recording more than a casual happening. Mott had a genius for spotting men with gifts or potentialities for leadership. He seldom forgot any who had impressed him and his judgment was usually unerring. In the years immediately following Edinburgh 1910 men of many different nationalities found themselves in key positions in a diversity of Christian organizations, national and international, because—often on the basis of a surprisingly short contact—Dr. Mott had proposed their name.

In 1920 the Edinburgh Continuation Committee itself had reached a critical point. Immediately after Edinburgh it had showed promise of developing a strong and distinctive life of its own. One symptom of

its vigor and an index to the quality of its thinking was provided by the launching in 1912 of the *International Review of Missions*, a journal which, decades later, is still maintaining its great reputation as a leading interpreter of the meaning of the Christian mission. The Committee also sponsored a number of international commissions on subjects bearing on missionary policy and practice, and—as in China—it took initiatives through which there came into existence in many lands cooperative agencies which later became National Christian Councils. Yet merely to think of such a body as a “continuation” of what happened in 1910 was no longer adequate. As a piece of international machinery it had, in fact, ceased to function when a whole epoch ended with the war of 1914-18. Henceforth continuity with the vision and purpose of 1910 had to be related to a new era and new needs. During the most critical years of the first world war and its aftermath this two-fold function was fulfilled chiefly through the genius and personal activity of John R. Mott and J. H. Oldham, aided by such men as Kenneth MacLennan—a Scottish lawyer who had worked with Oldham at the Edinburgh meeting and who reveled in coping with an almost superhuman administrative load. The story of these years has been told authoritatively in the history of the International Missionary Council.¹ They were years in which, amidst all the loss and bitterness of

¹ W. Richey Hogg: *Ecumenical Foundations*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952.

war, despite grievous misunderstandings and clashes of conviction between Christians of the warring nations, the vision of a supra-national Christian community, one in its central loyalty and in its concern for the evangelization of the world, was maintained. This was given expression, for example, in the maintenance on an international basis of the work of missions cut off from their home base by war.

Long before the war was over J. H. Oldham, with characteristic prescience, began to concern himself with questions which were likely to affect Christian missions in any post-war settlement which might be reached. The work of Mott and Oldham, MacLennan and Frank Lenwood in securing and negotiating aid for missions imperiled by war had involved high-level Government contacts and a good deal of international negotiation. In this context Oldham and his colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic worked hard and skilfully in preparing the way for the safeguarding of mission property after the war and for the eventual right of missions in enemy countries to resume their overseas missionary work. These endeavors bore fruit in a significant clause in the Treaty of Versailles as well as in far-reaching practical and administrative achievements.

Largely out of concern for the responsible handling of work of this kind, it was decided to replace the pre-war Edinburgh Continuation Committee with a newly constituted "Emergency Committee of Cooperating Missions." Early in 1918 Mott and Charles R. Watson,

President of the American University in Cairo and another leading American participant in the work of Edinburgh 1910, visited England and France to confer with available missionary agencies regarding this proposal. The new organization came into being in April of that year, with Mott as chairman and Oldham and MacLennan as secretaries. Its defined objectives were (1) to handle all questions of governmental relations in which the societies were jointly interested, (2) to consider means to provide for war-impaired missions, and (3) to act as a clearing house and to harmonize the approach to major problems faced in common by all societies in the transition from war to peace. The office of the new organization was in London where, after a period in temporary quarters, it found its home as a tenant of the Conference of British Missionary Societies in the building which soon became internationally famous as Edinburgh House.

With the end of the war neither an "Emergency" Committee nor a resuscitated "Continuation" Committee was felt to be sufficient for the new period and the new tasks. In June 1920, therefore, another international consultation—including German participation—was convened to consider the next steps. This small gathering of forty people, meeting at Crans in Switzerland and representing the missionary agencies of a dozen countries, proved to be of historic importance. It played a decisive part in the process of reconciliation needed after the years of war; it carried further the

policies and actions of the Emergency Committee in relation to the post-war settlement, and it took responsibility for the decision to create an international missionary organization based on national missionary conferences or national Christian councils. Even as early as this, Oldham hazarded the opinion that at some not too distant date this new organization would need to give place to "something that may represent the beginnings of a world league of churches." Meantime, the name proposed for the new body was the International Missionary Committee. A year later, when it was formally constituted, the name adopted was the International Missionary Council. Seventeen national organizations constituted its initial membership; of these, thirteen were in the lands of the "older" churches of Europe, the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; four were in Asia and the Middle East.

At the Crans meeting in 1920 the chairman was Bishop Logan Roots of Hankow who, a few years previously, had been one of the strongest advocates of A. L. Warnshuis as the right man to fill the office of National Evangelistic Secretary in China. Mott's swift insight had only confirmed what Roots and others had already experienced of Livingston's abilities through longer contact with him in China. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Crans meeting looked for a new, additional secretary to work with Oldham and under Mott's chairmanship, the invitation should have been sent to Warnshuis.

This call came as a complete surprise to Warnshuis and several months passed before he felt able to reach a decision. Writing to Dr. Cobb in November 1920 he said:

"During the past few months there have come to me three calls to as many different places of missionary service . . . Almost every mail from China has brought urgent messages asking that I return to the work in Shanghai . . . Then the Amoy Mission has also sent me a most urgent invitation to return to Amoy . . . The third call is one from the International Missionary Conference to become the associate of Mr. J. H. Oldham. This comes as a very great surprise and it leads in a way that we should never have chosen . . ."

To one of his secretarial colleagues in the China Continuation Committee—E. C. Lobenstine—he admitted:

"I seemed to have come to a time when the way ahead of me in China was unknown. I had apparently again come to a corner and I could not see around it. I was not at all worried about it, for I have long ago learned that light comes as we advance. I do not think I am concerned about position or place but only that I may be where I can be of real service to the Kingdom."

Not the least factor in making the decision finally clear was a generous word from Oldham who wrote: "There is no man I know whom I would rather have as a colleague than yourself." Warnshuis gave his assent towards the end of the year and after a brief return to

China for the handing over of his responsibilities to others he left for his new post in April, 1921. "Your experience, advice and above all your sympathetic spirit have been a great help to us all. The association we have had with you will linger in our memory with pleasant recollection," wrote the members of the China Continuation Committee in a letter signed by them all.

Warnshuis was now forty-four and he had entered on what was to prove his longest spell of work in one post. For the next twenty-one years he was to be at the heart of the ecumenical movement and to develop and spend his many gifts in the leadership of the International Missionary Council. Throughout the whole of this period Mott continued in the chairmanship of the Council, retiring in the same year as Warnshuis. Oldham formally resigned his secretaryship of the International Missionary Council in 1938 but continued no less active in movements inseparably related to the Council. Six years after Warnshuis's appointment a new force was added to the partnership by the appointment to the London office of William Paton, about whom more will be said later in this chapter. For what became a classic period, covering more than twenty years, these men constituted the administrative core of this unique international Christian organization and provided its most continuous leadership in thought and inspiration. It was in every way a most remarkable

team, and at this point it is worth contrasting the characteristics of Warnshuis with those of the two senior men whose colleague he became in 1921. John R. Mott was the born leader and master of assemblies. Commanding of stature, powerful in speech, every inch of him bearing the stamp of authority, it was for him to lead; he knew it and did. At heart a passionate evangelist, he had set out in his youth "to lay siege to the student world." For many years, in country after country and in vastly different cultural settings, he won men to Christ by the spoken word, laid his affectionate but masterful hand upon them and summoned them to a new and precise vocational obedience. The gifts he lavished upon the International Missionary Council were shared with equal zeal and dedication with other international organizations, especially the World Student Christian Federation and the World YMCA, and his involvement in the formative years of the World Council of Churches made inevitable his appointment as its first Honorary President. "The world's most useful man" was what President Woodrow Wilson said of him when trying to persuade him—unsuccessfully—to become the American Ambassador to China. Honorary degrees and decorations were showered upon him and he was a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the sort of man who could not have escaped the limelight and the headlines—even if he had wanted to.

Oldham was in almost every way the complete contrast to Mott. Slight of build, retiring in manner, not

greatly given to public speaking, completely indifferent to the more obvious arts of leadership, his was undoubtedly the keenest and profoundest mind within the whole movement. It was his thinking, his truly prophetic vision and his tremendous tenacity of purpose which made Edinburgh 1910 an entirely new thing in the world of conferences. For another fifty years beyond Edinburgh men and women in all walks of life turned to Oldham for guidance in thought, for insight into the new directions they needed and which Oldham could so often chart unerringly. Amongst many other qualities he exercised an almost uncanny power of drawing certain men and women together—usually specialists in some realm of thought and action—and, through a searching process of question and argument, leading them to discover some new corporate insight or judgment.

What Warnshuis brought to these men was something different from the gifts of either. On occasion his public speaking could be impressive and persuasive, but he was not essentially the public speaker. His power of thought was by no means slight, but he was not a thinker of the caliber of Oldham. Although he became widely known and deeply respected, the limelight generally passed over him and rested on Mott. Yet without Warnshuis at the heart of the International Missionary Council during its most significant twenty years it is doubtful, humanly speaking, whether either Mott's or Oldham's work would have been as far-reach-

ing and practically effective as it proved to be. In a confidential note to Mott, written at an early point in the new secretarial partnership, Oldham said of Warnshuis: "I am driven to doubt whether he has by himself the power to create and is in that sense a real leader." Had Warnshuis known of this he might have commented that with Oldham around there was no dearth of creative leadership; what was needed was sound administrative work at the point where creative ideas needed embodiment in programs. The years proved that Warnshuis could be more than an administrator, but it was in the realm of steady, wise, quietly forceful executive work that he contributed most to the Council. He understood the institutions through which policies had to be implemented. He could win the confidence of those who were answerable for budgets. He was not impatient of the details which someone must handle if new ideas were to be articulated in action. In all these respects he undergirded the public leadership of Mott and the creative thinking of Oldham. It is a curious and slightly amusing reflection that Oldham, who had shown immense organizing ability in the preparations for Edinburgh 1910, and who remained the senior secretary of the Council until 1938, was not personally present at either the Jerusalem meeting in 1928 or the Madras meeting of 1938. On each occasion he was preoccupied with more creative tasks than running another conference. This proved to be right, and more than one great movement

has profited as a result. But it was fortunate for both the Jerusalem and Madras meetings that Warnshuis could be relied upon to be present. As Dr. Yi fang Wu, an outstanding woman member of a brilliant Chinese delegation to Madras wrote: "We said often among ourselves that we owed a great deal to you for your tireless effort in attending to all the details and making the conference such a success."

In the confidential note to Mott about his new colleague, Oldham had also said: "He has valuable gifts and does work of high quality . . . My personal relations with him are all that could be wished. He is liked, not only by himself but by those with whom he comes in contact." There was here a personal relationship which, though often tested, grew in strength with the years. More than thirty years later Oldham wrote: "Of all whom I have known Warnshuis was one of the easiest people to work with. He had unfailing good humor, optimism, kindliness, eagerness and energy." In the beginning of their association Oldham had written to Warnshuis:

"We cannot arrange too early to spend much time together in conference and prayer. Everything, humanly speaking, in our work would seem to depend upon our being able in a leisurely way to reach a common mind. This does not, as I see it, mean in the least that we shall think alike on all questions. The more different our approach to questions is the greater will be the advantage as it will result in the end in

things being seen from a wider, more comprehensive and therefore truer standpoint. But a complete spirit of fellowship in which we realize our unity of aim underneath divergences of judgement is of vital importance. As you will remember, the conference at Crans laid it down that the successful working of the IMC is entirely dependent on the gift from God of the spirit of fellowship, mutual understanding and desire to cooperate. This applies in very special sense to the officers and, however great the pressure of work upon both of us may be, we must endeavor in the early stages of our cooperation to secure as much unhurried time as possible for a complete interchange of thought regarding all that we have in hand and all that, under God's leading, we may look forward to."

During the first years of this new task Warnshuis and his wife lived in London. Holland, America, China—these were all part of him, bound up with his deepest affections and loyalties. He was now to bring to England the same capacity for being at home and appropriating new experiences with a discerning eye and a sympathetic mind. Most of his official colleagues lived out of London, traveling to and from the suburbs, but Warnshuis was anxious to live as near the center of things as he could, "in order"—as he wrote—"that we might become better acquainted with this great city and its life . . . We shall be living in a part of the old-world London and so shall be absorbing its rich, historical atmosphere all the time." There were various

ingredients in this atmosphere and in one of her first letters from the new home his wife, Anna, who had learned to make many new adjustments in China, wrote:

“If you could look in on us this morning you would see a strange sight. The fog is so thick that it has come into the room and we gaze at each other thru a thick haze. We are doing our work by electric light and as we look out we cannot see even the outline of the buildings across the street . . . We are rejoicing this morning that we live in the heart of the city for those who live outside never know at this season of the year whether they will be able to come in for the day’s work or not. This fog which is thick and yellow is a mixture of damp and smoke which gets into the nose and throat and even irritates the eyes . . . Oh, it’s cheerful I must say! A rainy season in China with everything turning green with mold seems preferable. One can at least breathe there while here you feel suffocated.”

During these first weeks, wrote Anna:

“We are in a Mansion flat as it is called altho not true to its name. We were especially taken with it as it had hot water radiators in three of the rooms but we find they are rather a farce. Only one can be heated at a time so that now we aim to keep only the bath room warm.”

This same letter, written in January 1922, provides an interesting sidelight on the “gay twenties”:

"London is a very dirty city and with grate fires and no vacuum sweepers and plenty of brass trimmings it takes some energy to keep up even a small place like this. One almost feels pious to give even one person employment with the unemployment problem so acute. It makes one's heart ache to see the poor ex-soldiers sitting at the street corners and singing or playing to get the attention of the passers-by while they beg for help. The unemployed do get some help from the government but evidently not sufficient."

Livingston and Anna were, in fact, unusually fortunate in that before long they managed to rent a flat in the Temple, at 12 King's Bench Walk. Fog or sunshine, this was an atmosphere congenial to Livingston's tastes and interests; years afterwards he would recall this period with pride and a nostalgic affection. Neither in speech nor writing was he naturally lyrical, but London's streets, their plane trees and starlings, the old buildings and their associations, moved him deeply. One of his nieces has in her possession a copy of E. Montizambert's *Unnoticed London*¹ bought by Warnshuis in 1922. On the flyleaf he had copied Rosetti's lines:

"Clouds of starlings, ere they rest with day,
Sink clamorous, like mill-waters, at wild play."

London brought opportunities in personal and semi-official relationships which Warnshuis entered into with great zest and appreciation. "We had an unusual experience last night," he wrote in 1921, "when

¹ Published in London by Dent, 1922.

"MacLennan and Mr. Noel Buxton arranged for a group meeting in the home of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, to talk informally about the relations between missionaries and the Labor movement. Mr. Macdonald had invited some ten or twelve Labor leaders . . . some eight or nine prominent Labor men were present. Among them were Colonel Wedgwood and the leaders of some of the Trade Unions. Our missionary group consisted of Goudie, Lenwood, Bitton, Murray Walton, H. St. B. Holland and Hugh Martin, Colonel Lewis, MacLennan and myself . . . It was made clear that we desired to secure the assistance of these Labor leaders in studying the presentation of our message to the Far East. I think the meeting also tended to increase their interest in the whole missionary movement."

Again, he could say "British politics are tremendously interesting just now and our education is being improved very much in this respect . . . I have recently been taken to two meetings of the Whitefriars by Basil Mathews. The Whitefriars is a club of journalists at which they get leading men to speak, with the understanding that not a word will be reported. One evening I heard Lord Milner talk about Egypt and last Friday heard Lord Meston and Sir Valentine Chirol talk about India. London offers great opportunities, especially in the associations in which we are placed."

From his London office Warnshuis began to develop personal ties with continental Europe in addition to his links with Holland which was always a homeland to

him. In 1922 he visited Scandinavia hoping, amongst other things, to allay the fears of some of the Scandinavian missions that the IMC was showing too great an interest in political questions. Addressing a missionary conference in Scandinavia he said:

"I hope I have made clear the fact that the work of the International Missionary Council is not primarily in dealing with political questions arising in connection with missionary work, as some have seemed to think. The interests of the Council are as many and varied as those of the missionary societies by whom it has been organized and whom it serves. Above all the Council must seek to aid in nurturing a deeper, stronger spiritual life and power in the agencies employed in our missionary work and in all those who share this service. The experience of the past ten years has revealed the effect of international cooperation upon the men and women who have come most under its influence. Their outlook has been broadened, their experience has been enlarged, and their understanding of the problems with which they have to deal enriched by contact with other minds that approach the questions from a different angle and in the light of a different experience and tradition. From this international Christian fellowship there will result an enrichment of life and experience that will increasingly fit us better to accomplish the task entrusted to us by God."

On this same journey he recorded his impression that

"missionary work in Norway is wholly in the hands of good, pious people whose principal purpose is to maintain their orthodoxy. One of the principal questions . . . was with reference to the spread of modernism in the mission field."

Summarizing impressions of this whole tour he wrote to Oldham:

"I think there is a lack of understanding of the real situation in the mission field. This is specially true of the members of the boards, with whom, after all, secretaries must reckon. A great deal of education needs to be done in order that these boards may understand that their work on the field can no longer be carried on apart from the work of other missionary societies. In some way we must help them to see the whole great movement in these large mission fields and their own work as a section of it . . . This does not mean the pooling of funds or the organization of any superior authority. We are not proposing to appoint a Commander in Chief, but only a Council of War. It must be understood, however, that the days of fighting in guerilla bands are gone and we are now all parts of one great army. This, as I see it, is the largest task that lies before us and it is one that will require time for its accomplishment."

After three years in London Livingston made New York his base of operations, but the period in which he worked at Edinburgh House was of formative importance for the work of the International Missionary

Council. It was not an easy time and there was a moment when Warnshuis was on the point of resigning on the ground that he could not clearly see what his distinctive contribution to the new organization should be. The problem was accentuated by some unresolved questions of policy regarding the role of an international organization. These questions and the different answers given to them reflected something much more than differences of personal approach and conviction; they were inherent in the task of working internationally, and in one form and another they have continued to recur in more than one international Christian organization. Nevertheless, a contrast between the characteristic approaches of Oldham and Warnshuis illustrates both the question and the differences. "What is the job?" asked Oldham when first writing to Warnshuis about his new appointment. Answering his own question he went on:

"It is clear to all of us that the missionary task cannot be accomplished by missionary societies in isolation and that international cooperation, not only between the home countries but between those countries and the mission fields, is indispensable. The cooperation that is needed is not any outward or mechanical cooperation of activities but the slow growth of a common mind. Our job at the center, as I conceive it, is to try to see the things that are most central and most vital in the missionary movement and then to try to get the missionary forces in all countries behind those things

to get them done . . . Without a center round which the best thought may gather the thing will not be done."

The "growth of a common mind . . . in things most central and vital in the missionary movement;" and then, "to get the missionary forces in all countries behind those things to get them done." There was never any disagreement between the two men on this dual objective. Nor was there dissent from it within the membership of the newly formed Council. But, generally speaking, Oldham's absorbing interest was in the achievement of the common mind; Warnshuis was concerned to make the Council an effective instrument for rallying the missionary forces to get the things done. Both men knew that these were inseparable parts of one task, but it was sometimes difficult to keep them in balance. At times the difference in dominant interest raised procedural problems. This international organization was gradually taking shape as a "council of councils," as it was often called. Its membership was that of national organizations consisting of the missionary agencies ("boards" or "societies") in the country concerned. No single mission board was a direct member of the Council; its link was through the national organization. It was therefore the business of the directing committee and its secretariat to work through the national organizations. In principle, Oldham had approved this. But if he was concentrating all his energies on one particular problem of policy or

missionary strategy—his usual way of working—he wanted to be free to claim the help of an individual or the assistance of a particular mission board without bothering about acting via the national organization. In an indignant moment he wrote:

“I absolutely refuse to remain a secretary of the IMC without direct access to the boards in matters assigned to the IMC secretaries . . . The bottle-neck policy of working through national organizations is quite impracticable.”

When on this and other matters Warnshuis stressed the importance of procedures which would keep the appropriate organization in the picture, Oldham retorted; “Do organizations really matter provided the work that is needed gets done?” It was in the course of one of these sharp exchanges that Oldham produced the masterly statement:

“While I cannot understand the reasons why you are unable to recognize the force of considerations that seem to me self-evident, I am not at all disposed to think that you are simply silly.”

Happily both men were big enough—and frank enough with each other—to make their differing gifts serve a single end and the Council became the richer for it. To say that Oldham gave the chief lead in working at fundamental problems does not mean that Warnshuis had no contribution to make of this kind. More especially, where certain questions of principle or

policy required exposition supported by factual data, he could produce a masterly document and he knew where to go for his evidence, whatever the procedural niceties might be. Amongst the many substantial memoranda and pamphlets which he produced were a study on *The Relation of Missions and Governments in Belgian, French and Portuguese Colonies* (1923); two studies on *The Legal Status of Missionaries in China* (1925); an analysis of *The Relationships of Protestant Mission Boards to Churches in Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines* (1927); and a *Study of Self-support in Korea* (1930). For some years he was deeply involved in the question of slavery and collaborated with J. P. Chamberlain and Quincey Wright in a substantial document on *Suggestions Regarding the Amendment of the Draft Convention on Slavery* (1926). This was followed by a long dissertation from his own pen, presented to the U.S.A. State Department, on the *Slavery Convention of Geneva* (1926). He also took the initiative in the organization and appointment of an expert inquiry into labor conditions in Portuguese Africa; the result was a *Survey on the Employment of Native Labor in Africa* which was submitted to the League of Nations. This concern with slavery was closely akin to his work on the opium problem on which he produced a long series of valuable memoranda. During his years in China this problem had claimed much of his time and crusading energy. Both in his work with the municipality of Amoy and with

the China Continuation Committee, he had done a lot of speaking and writing on the problem, lending his knowledge and ardor to various anti-opium movements. During the early years of his service with the International Missionary Council the League of Nations was at work on the subject and invited the Council's help in the collection of data for consideration by the League's Opium Commission. Warnshuis took main responsibility in this and in 1924 he attended the meeting of the Commission in Geneva as an expert adviser attached to the American delegation. He was also instrumental in persuading the American Medical Association to set up its own committee of experts on the subject.

From its beginnings in the Edinburgh 1910 period, the movement which became organized in the International Missionary Council was much concerned with the question of religious liberty in all its aspects. The coming of war in 1914 inevitably brought into focus particular issues of an emergency character and the work which the Council undertook in aid of missions in enemy countries was prompted as much by concern for liberty in Christian witness as for the institutions which it assisted. One of the first acts of the Emergency Committee of Cooperating Missions in 1919 was to make representations to the treaty-makers in Paris regarding the provision within the League of Nations mandates of safeguards for freedom of conscience and religion. When the constitution of the International

Missionary Council was framed in 1921 one of its declared objects was "to help unite Christian public opinion in support of freedom of conscience and missionary liberty." Throughout his years as a secretary of the Council Warnshuis made this one of his chief interests; he was untiring in his study and advocacy, meticulous in his collation of data on specific problems and extremely able in his presentation of a case to governmental and international authorities. He played a leading part in the formation in 1942, of a Joint Committee on Religious Liberty under the aegis of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Federal Council of Churches, serving as its chairman until 1946, and it was chiefly due to his initiative that there was undertaken the large-scale inquiry which, after many years of preparation, resulted in the publication of M. Searle Bates' monumental study *Religious Liberty; an Inquiry* (1945). In this important and influential volume—which was translated into Chinese, Japanese, French, German, Italian and Spanish—Warnshuis was the author's closest collaborator and gave many months of painstaking attention to its details.

In his concern for the most effective working of an international organization Warnshuis was, from the beginning, impressed with the critical importance of right relationships between the American and British elements in the International Missionary Council. Although the Council's membership included national

organizations in continental Europe, the Middle East and Asia, it was inevitable that the main weight of responsibility should rest on the two countries which were carrying a specially large share of the world missionary enterprise. Organizationally this meant that the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (commonly referred to as the British Conference) and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America (later to become the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America) were bound to play a leading role in the movement. Edinburgh House was the home of the British Conference as well as the International Missionary Council and for a time Oldham was a secretary of both bodies. Livingston's removal to New York at the end of 1924 was the result of a decision—strongly urged by him—that the Council should also have a secretariat in New York, to insure closer and more responsible contact with the largest group of missionary agencies in the world. In pressing for this move and fulfilling it Warnshuis not only wanted to be more effectively placed for "rallying the missionary forces to get things done"; he wanted to be a more authoritative interpreter of the mind of the American missions to their counterparts in Europe, especially in Britain. Conversely, he was eager to take his first-hand knowledge of the British and Continental missionary scene into the heart of the American missionary movement. For some time he occupied in New

York a dual position comparable to that of Oldham in London. He was both a secretary of the International Missionary Council and a "cooperating secretary" of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. His prestige amongst the mission boards and churches in America mounted rapidly: his own missionary service and his intimate knowledge of the administrative problems of the boards (whether seen from the angle of an irate young missionary or from the secretary's chair) not only strengthened confidence, it made his exposition and commendation of policies the more convincing. The fact that a number of the tasks to which he gave special attention involved dealings with experts in many different areas of knowledge and responsibility helped also to extend his reputation in government circles and other areas of public life. This influential position was one in which he grew steadily and surely throughout the rest of his service; and the contacts and experience gained in it were used to good account in many causes long beyond his term of office in the International Missionary Council.

Two great landmarks were passed in the work of the Council during the years of Livingston's secretaryship. These were signalized by the world meetings of the Council at Jerusalem in 1928 and Tambaram, near Madras, in 1938. In both instances Warnshuis carried a major organizing responsibility. Soon after his appointment Oldham had sent him an innocent little note saying: "I am very weak on the business and finan-

cial side and should not handle this end of things satisfactorily. Would you be willing to assume responsibility for these matters?" Warnshuis did, and set himself the task of raising money for the Council as well as seeing that it was wisely spent.¹ Then to the normal burden of administering a far-flung and constantly changing pattern of operations there was added the business of organizing and financing these large international gatherings. Warnshuis carried the main share of the load without fuss and with great competence. The absence of fuss in heavy administrative tasks was a contribution to something more than business efficiency. It was reassuring in the midst of crowded days of conference to see one of the busiest men in the organization taking things calmly. "If a photographer would desire to have a prize snapshot," wrote A. M. Chirgwin of the London Missionary Society, "I would suggest that he snap that towering Dutchman, A. L. Warnshuis, at breakfast, smoking his pipe. There's peace and contentment, geniality and rugged strength, humor and seriousness."

But administration was by no means Livingston's only contribution to these historic international meetings. He was much involved in the working out of the themes which eventually dominated Jerusalem and Madras. The former became notable for its diagnosis

¹ In order that Warnshuis might be "spared the necessity of raising his own salary" two generous friends—Dr. and Mrs. William Bancroft Hill—took responsibility for contributing this and for meeting his principal traveling expenses throughout his service with the IMC.

of the new secularism which was spreading across the world and constituting a resistance to the Christian Gospel more powerful than the rivalry of the non-Christian religions. While Oldham's thinking on this issue was probably the most powerful of all contributions to the preparatory work of Jerusalem, Warnshuis had come away from his work in China sobered by the realization that the Asia which was popularly assumed to possess a genius for "spirituality" was rapidly succumbing to those acids of modernity which were corroding the faith of a western Christendom. He brought the urgent concern of a front-line missionary to this theme and did so with a personal authority which was specially timely in relation to some parts of the Council's constituency. In Scandinavia and Germany, for example, there was uneasiness about the extent to which missionary thinking, especially in Britain and America, appeared to be occupied with social problems. Suspicion of a mere "social gospel" was strong; it was the business of missions to proclaim the Gospel of redemption, not to become involved in the problems of society and be drawn into political and economic questions. "Many of us proceeded to Jerusalem," wrote Karl Heim, "with the fear that as representatives of the old Biblical Gospel we should find ourselves opposed by a crushing majority of others for whom the Kingdom of God means nothing more than the League of Nations, democracy and the overcoming of militarism and capitalism." If Warnshuis could not completely dispel

this fear, he could at least testify with conviction that, coming from his work as National Evangelistic Secretary in China, he saw the fight with secularism and the need to challenge the assumptions of a materialistic society as integral to the proclamation of a Biblical faith. True, he spoke as an American, and in the eyes of many European missionary leaders it was the American mind which was chiefly responsible at this period for watering down the Gospel. Confirmation of this appeared—so it was felt—within two years of the Jerusalem meeting when there was published under the title *Rethinking Missions* the sensational report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. This was at many points an able criticism of current missionary policy, and some of the re-thinking for which it pleaded was in line with concerns for which the leaders of the International Missionary Council had long been agitating. The report was, however, lamentably deficient in its theological basis and assumptions. On its own admission, it had sought common ground between "those for whom the enduring motive of Christian missions can only be adequately expressed as loyalty to Jesus Christ regarded as the perfect revelation of God and the only Way by which men can reach a satisfying experience of Him" and others for whom the missionary motive was "the spirit of altruistic service, the desire to share with all mankind the benefits and the ideals of a Christian community." Far from proving representative of the missionary movement as a whole

in the United States, the report received short shrift from most of the mission boards; indeed, there were those—Warnshuis included—who regretted that its diagnosis of weaknesses in missionary strategy and many of its valid and salutary criticisms of prevailing missionary assumptions and practice were lost sight of in the powerful attack which was made on its vulnerable presuppositions. Nevertheless, in his dealings with anxious European missionary leaders at this time Warnshuis was able to speak as an American who knew that there must be no wavering about the fact that the Christian mission begins and continues in the saving work of God in Christ. No reliable re-thinking of missionary policy and strategy could, in his view, start elsewhere.

When Warnshuis, urged by Mott, made it his special business to win the confidence of the European missionary leaders and persuade them to share in the Jerusalem meeting, he was renewing a phase of his work to which he felt specially called and to which he gave his best energies for the rest of his life. This was the building up of confidence, based on better knowledge, between Europeans and Americans. Writing to his former classmates at New Brunswick Seminary in the course of his first extensive visit to Europe in 1923, he spoke of ominous signs that a war "which was to make the world free" was in danger of being followed by "revolutions and upheavals that may be the end of European civilization and the return of the dark ages." "Can America

stand aloof?" he wrote. "The mutual ignorance of each other in Europe and America is appalling. The difficulty is not debts and reparations but fear and mistrust. Why not help to restore confidence?"

This devotion to the cause of European-American relationships was rooted in Livingston's ancestral inheritance. He was a loyal American who was also a European. Although Dutch was an acquired language for him, he cared about it as about his native speech. He was glad to be recognized as "that towering Dutchman," and his sojourn in England added to his love for and sense of obligation to the old world. All this began to mean still more to him when he first visited Germany to carry further the settlement of the post-war problems of the German missions. This was more than an administrative task and a matter of negotiation with Governments. It was also a mission of interpretation and reconciliation between Christians in Germany, England and America. Years later, when the preparations for the Tambaram meeting of 1938 were under way, new and deeper strains were threatening relationships between the German missionary leaders and the rest of the IMC membership. The revolutions and upheavals which Warnshuis had feared in 1923 were taking place, and with them the threatened return of the dark ages seemed more imminent. Few responsibilities so touched his heart as well as his mind as the task which he and Mott undertook in the summer of 1939 on a final visit to Germany before the declaration of war. The policy

formulated in this last consultation with the Germans was summed up in four points of agreement: first, in the event of war, missions of different national origins would do everything possible to keep channels of communication open between one another; secondly, the national councils comprising the membership of the International Missionary Council would care in every possible way for younger churches whose missionaries might be interned; thirdly, financial help would be raised by the IMC and made available to missionaries not interned but cut off from their home base; and fourthly, efforts would be made to safeguard mission property, as had been done at the close of the first world war in the Treaty of Versailles. Warnshuis brought to this formulation of an emergency policy in Berlin the passionate devotion of one who saw in the tragedy of a war-threatened Europe a new and terrible challenge to the supra-national implications of the Christian faith. From now on his remaining service to the Council and his most memorable contribution to its work and witness lay in the sphere of what came to be known as "Orphaned Missions."

"Why orphaned?" asked Warnshuis in an appeal which he issued in 1940. "The Churches in Europe," he answered,

"have not abandoned hope, have not been defeated; the evidence comes in a steady stream. Their missionary zeal continues and their gifts increase. Their money, however, cannot be sent out of Europe; it

cannot reach the missions. 'Being bereaved of you for a season, yet we continue in hope our labors on your behalf . . .' In the Revised Version a marginal reading of the familiar verse John xiv. 18 is: 'I will not leave you orphans.' Now the parents are bereaved for a season. The charge resting on the American churches is clear. We are part of the universal Christian fellowship, and we have not been called upon to suffer as our European brethren. Our gifts can reach the missions. We can sustain them now so that, after a season, made stronger by their experiences, they may be returned to their parents."

This was the theme which Warnshuis sounded untiringly in the last three years of his secretaryship. It found expression in hundreds of letters and speeches, in personal approaches to individuals, in scores of interviews with State Department and Treasury officials and through skilful organization and highly competent administration. The task was much more than one of raising money and allocating it. There was the primary problem of missionary manpower, involving negotiations through the various national councils for the loan or transfer of missionaries of one nationality to replace those of another who were no longer free to work. There were ministrations to interned missionaries to be provided. There was the business of securing and disseminating news. There was the task of preparing the missions at the home-base for the entirely different situation which they would have to face after

the war. To this whole range of needs Warnshuis gave himself with a zeal and efficiency which in many ways marked the crest of his life-service. Of course, this was by no means one man's task alone. Many aspects of it could only be dealt with in London, through relationships with the British Foreign Office and Treasury. All the time there was parallel action in Edinburgh House to the work done by Warnshuis in New York. Here an outstanding piece of service was rendered by Miss Betty D. Gibson, an assistant secretary of the Council who had worked with Oldham since his Edinburgh days and who—through her wisdom and self-effacing service—had won a unique place in the respect and affection of the missions on the European continent. The main administrative responsibility of the whole undertaking, however, together with the biggest share of the money-raising, was sustained by Warnshuis.¹ The spirit in which he fulfilled his part in the task and which found expression in public speech, in dealings with governments and in the meticulous accuracy with which he handled a thousand details of administration may be summed up in a sentence from one of his own speeches on the subject. After expounding the intricacies of this program of Christian service across the frontiers of war, he added:

¹ A more detailed account of the "Orphaned Missions" achievement can be read in *World Christian Community in Action* by Kenneth Scott Latourette and W. Richey Hogg (1949, New York, International Missionary Council).

“So, humbly, thankfully, prayerfully we declare this single truth that in our shattered, confused and apprehensive world, there remains one unshattered, undaunted, resolute world community: it is the worldwide Christian Church and its missionary enterprise.”

Three years after Warnshuis moved his desk from London to New York the secretariat of the Council was strengthened by the appointment of an additional man to the London office. This was William Paton who at once took a leading place in the direction and the counsels of the whole movement and became Livingston's closest official colleague for the next fifteen years. Paton was another born leader, combining in himself some of the qualities superlatively demonstrated in Mott and Oldham. He had something of Mott's drive and executive ability, with a keen theological mind and a strong political sense. Clarity and pungency marked his utterances, whether by tongue or pen. In his student days he had been greatly influenced by Frank Lenwood and by contact with Mott in one of Mott's student campaigns. Work with the Student Christian Movement soon brought him into touch with Oldham, and through these influences he became secretary in 1922 of the National Missionary Council of India (later to become the National Christian Council). From this post he was called to the International Missionary Council. Paton began his work as secretary in 1927 and immediately shared with Warnshuis responsibility for the final arrangements of the Jerusa-

lem meeting of the Council. From this point onwards Oldham, while remaining a secretary of the Council and a far from negligible influence in the shaping of its policy, began to shift the main weight of his service from its more routine work to those interests which found expression in his membership on various Commissions—governmental and private—dealing with African affairs, especially the framing of educational policies. In terms of persons, therefore, the London-New York axis of the International Missionary Council was provided between 1927 and 1942 by the Warnshuis-Paton partnership. This relationship meant a great deal to both men though its very fruitful consequences could not have been achieved if the patience and good humor of either had been slight in quality or quantity. In the general trend and character of their thinking there were more similarities between Warnshuis and Paton than between Warnshuis and Oldham; but this was one instance in which the Britisher moved faster than the American in thought and decision. Warnshuis preferred a longer process of cogitation before giving a judgment. In a moment of good-humored irritation Paton told him that if he had been born in England he would have been a “stuffed shirt.” But, once again, differing gifts and personal characteristics were made complementary in the furtherance of a single purpose. Correspondence between them was constant and easy and both found time for the exchange of pleasantries. When, in 1935, Paton

received word that the Foreign Missions Conference of North America had passed a gracious resolution offering felicitations to King George the Fifth on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, he wrote to Warnshuis

"I must congratulate you upon the strong and loyal feelings evinced towards the British Empire in the resolution which is being sent to the King. I suppose you are not thinking of joining the British Empire, are you? It would be a very good thing if the USA became a Dominion; it would relieve you of the expense of presidential elections, and we could give you some ideas of how to deal with Senator Huey Long!"

Warnshuis replied:

"I am glad you appreciated our friendly greetings to your King. Your idea of our becoming a British Dominion is not very attractive. We have memories of what happened one hundred and fifty years ago when your people did not quite know how to deal with George Washington. Under the circumstances, we think it will be better to try our own hand in dealing with Huey Long and Father Coughlin, as well as some of the men in the present administration of our Government."

With the outbreak of war in 1939 both men redoubled their efforts to use the international character of their organization as an instrument towards better understanding and eventual reconciliation. In

addition to the practical expression of this in the service of Orphaned Missions, the exchanges of thought and opinion between the London and New York offices of the Council did much to promote and deepen Anglo-American understanding, especially during the period prior to America's entry into the war. Paton's first impulse in the early weeks of the war was to go to America and, amongst other things, interpret the attitude of the British churches to the war. Warnshuis counseled against this on the ground that too early a visit would lend itself to misinterpretation as a propaganda effort. He urged patience and watchfulness for a more timely moment and suggested that it might be better to try to secure a visit from leading American churchmen to Britain. In July, 1940, Warnshuis wrote to Paton:

"It is with feelings of intense concern that we read our papers these days with their reports that suggest an impending invasion that is to be attempted in England. It is unnecessary for us to indicate where our interests are and words cannot express our inmost thoughts and feelings . . . I shall do what I can to help in arranging for a visit with some Americans if we can find the right kind of men to go."

With the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor in 1941 both men were confronted with the task of serving and leading an international organization from offices located at the main bases of the allied war effort. There was no shadow of doubt where the convictions of either

lay, but they could not forget that the membership of the International Missionary Council over-arched the frontiers of war and included the German and Japanese missions and churches. Writing to Paton soon after Pearl Harbor, Warnshuis said:

"The attack of Japan was wholly unexpected. The unanimity of our people in support of our Government is practically complete. There are no illusions of the probability of a long, hard struggle, nor much doubt that the outcome will be the ruin of Japan. In this chaotic situation our response must be primarily that of representing and advancing the Christian cause . . . You and I will probably face together and separately some difficult situations in which we shall have to give first place in our thoughts to the important responsibility of maintaining the integrity of our *international* church and missionary obligations."

Pearl Harbor was a shattering event in every sense of the term. To Christian leadership in both the United States and Japan the shock of surprise and dismay was specially acute. Although relationships between the two countries, from the period of the Manchuria "incident" onwards, had been greatly strained, with rapid deterioration as the war progressed, Christian leaders were hoping against hope that peace could be maintained and that the churches in both lands could continue to be free to exercise a ministry of reconciliation. Less than six months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Warnshuis had taken part in a memorable series

of discussions with Japanese Christian leaders who had visited the churches in the USA with intent to "secure cooperative effort in maintaining and strengthening the historically close relationship between the two peoples and to do everything possible to preserve a just and lasting peace between the two nations." This momentous meeting had its origin in a suggestion made by the National Christian Council of Japan to the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Roswell P. Barnes—then associate general secretary of the Federal Council—immediately proposed joint action with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and, thanks very largely to the work of such men as Roswell Barnes, Walter van Kirk and Warnshuis, personal confidence was established between these American and Japanese leaders. This achievement, despite the tragedy which followed within so short a time, contributed in very great measure to the early resumption of contacts between the American and Japanese churches after the armistice. These conversations constituted a profoundly searching experience for all the participants; the meeting ended with a joint affirmation of the "mutual confidence and trust which have been strengthened between the emerging Church of Christ in Japan and the churches in the United States." Six months later it would have been easy to dismiss all this with cynicism. For Warnshuis this was impossible. With all his shrewdness in facing the realities of political and public affairs, he believed and knew that

between Christians there were bonds of trust and hope which could not be destroyed amidst the harshest predicaments and clashes of loyalty imposed by the tragic enmities of the times. For him the International Missionary Council and the movement it represented was an institutional expression of this "living bond." To maintain "the integrity of our *international* church and mission organizations" belonged to the greatest of all callings and privileges.

When Warnshuis wrote to Paton after Pearl Harbor he had just entered his sixty-fifth year. Sixty-five was the age fixed by the rules of the Council for the retirement of its secretaries. Warnshuis had long been determined to keep strictly to the rule and to resist any pressure which might be made on him to continue in office. The pressure came and was very strong indeed, but he held to his resolution and relinquished his office at the end of 1942. This by no means meant the end of his service to the great movement of which the IMC was part; especially to those supra-national agencies which were seeking to fulfil the unifying and reconciling calling of Christians. But it was the end of another chapter, in itself no small achievement in a long life of Christian leadership and service.

Livingston's retirement from the International Missionary Council was the occasion of widespread tributes to the quality of his work and friendship. From China and India there came expressions of gratitude for "a rare spiritual insight which enabled him to grasp the

significance of events and movements," coupled with "genial friendship and sympathetic understanding." John R. Mott, who had relinquished his chairmanship of the Council a few months earlier, spoke of his "mastery of necessary detail as well as ability to hold in perspective major issues." Mott's successor in the chairmanship, Bishop James Chamberlain Baker, said: "I have a vast respect for him; he has shown himself capable and foreseeing and wise in very difficult circumstances." Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette wrote:

"No man more richly deserves than do you both the formal and the informal acknowledgement by many friends of gratitude for a great job grandly done. Yours has been an uncommonly heavy load, and that has been largely because you have had the imagination and the initiative to see the implications of the International Missionary Council and to develop them. It has been a superb piece of administration, but it has been much more than that. It has been one of vision, faith and devotion of an extraordinarily high order."

From J. H. Oldham came a warm, intimate note recalling "the days in which we worked together and which are rich in memories." William Paton wrote: "You will be very greatly missed by all of us and most of all by me:" and Paton's new colleague—Dr. J. W. Decker—saluted "the ideal predecessor, always interested, never in any way interfering, but always ready to give counsel and help when it was wanted." "No words would be adequate," added Dr. Decker, "to express

how much the IMC owes to you. That it met so well the terrific shock of war is very much due to your wisdom and foresight. And Orphaned Missions, which you had so much to do with launching, will always be an ecumenical monument." The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, which he had served so closely and for so long, insisted—against his will—on honoring Livingston with a farewell dinner attended by eighty-five friends and admirers. "I had a terrible time getting him to go at all," said his wife. "In fact, he went Dutch on me—my way of describing his most stubborn moods." He finally agreed to attend only on condition that he should not be required to listen to any laudatory speeches. Knowing the sincerity and strength of this insistence, his wishes were respected and his hosts said that they would only ask for one more opportunity to listen *to* him instead of speaking *about* him. The nearest approach to public eulogy during the evening was contained in the following introduction, surely one of the briefest on record for such an occasion:

"We had asked Dr. Warnshuis tonight, first, to let us give our hearts some satisfaction in paying vocal tribute to him for his long and blessed service in the world cause which has our common devotion; and, secondly, to speak to us as we work further into our studies of missions in the new age. He just felt he couldn't let us do the first, and he declined to be present and do the second unless the first was sup-

pressed. So it is. We tonight make no reference to it. But all here will treasure those feelings in their hearts. And we will hear his words to us with perhaps even greater appreciation of the modesty and strength which lies behind them."

The speech which followed was occupied not with personal recollections but with a stirring reminder of the gravity of the times and the vast demands which the Christian mission must make as the Church worked and prayed for better days.

Chapter Four

ELDER STATESMAN

"MY DESK here at home is piled high with unanswered letters so that I do not know where to begin. In thirty days I have had just three in which I could do what I wanted to. It begins to seem that this being retired is not what it is cracked up to be." This was written to William Paton by Warnshuis during the first months of his retirement from the International Missionary Council. The necessity for some re-assessment of his future, as well as the need for recuperation, was very great. For some time he had been adjusting himself not only to the prospect of giving up an absorbing office but to the necessity of a radical change in his home life. In July 1941, his wife Anna collapsed under the first of a series of attacks due to a cerebral thrombosis. For some months previously Livingston himself had been showing signs of exhaustion and his doctor was urging him to get a complete break. Anna's par-

tial recovery left her weak and with the haunting fear of renewed attacks, and for the next three months she lived precariously and in need of day-and-night care: she died on October 26th, 1941.

For more than forty-one years Anna had contributed a quiet, sure background to Livingston's exacting public work. Retiring by nature, modest and self-effacing, she had provided the kind of domestic assurance and care which he most needed, accepting with grace and ability the many and varied demands of life in China and England as well as the United States. The marriage was childless, but the home to which she gave so much was a center of unstressful affection which shared its peace with many friends. Some weeks before the end, husband and wife faced together the certainty of death's coming, and in their last evening prayers they read the closing verses of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. At the phrase "more than conquerors through him that loved us," Anna slowly repeated the words, changing the tense to "him that loves us."

At the time of Anna's death, Livingston was already preparing to hand over his IMC work to a successor, but at the end of 1942 he was still unclear about the next steps. With the war moving into its severest stages no one with his sense of responsibility could merely plan for leisure. There had been widely canvassed proposals for retaining his services for the International Missionary Council in some official con-

sultative capacity, but he had resisted this as strongly as any extension of his secretaryship. His advice was still inevitably sought by former colleagues, especially when the sudden and grievous death of William Paton in August, 1943, at the age of fifty-six, impoverished the Council's leadership to an irreparable extent. Livingston, nevertheless, continued to refrain from yielding to any plea that he should resume office in the Council. His friendship and wisdom were always available to his successor in the New York office, Dr. J. W. Decker, and his home became the most frequented place of call during visits to America by Paton's successor in London, Norman Goodall. But both Decker and Goodall knew—with their later colleague, Charles W. Ranson—that though there was no limit to Livingston's friendship and support, he would never be drawn into the discussion of persons or current policies which might bring him even within sighting distance of interference. This was part of his integrity and his conception of responsibility. It made his friendship the more reliable and strengthening.

There were other contacts which he felt free to continue with some degree of official responsibility. His work on religious liberty as well as the position he had established for himself in American church life had made him a valuable counselor in the Federal Council of Churches and in such of its agencies as the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. In 1943 he accepted the chairmanship of the Foreign Missions

Conference of North America, continuing to this extent his service to the American Mission Boards. His interest in affairs in the Far East continued unabated. As a former trustee of Yenching University, the Nanking Theological Seminary and the Hua Chung College he continued to serve on the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China so long as this relationship to Christian institutions in China could be maintained. At the time of his death he was still a member of the Nanking Board of Founders in America. The work of the American Bible Society did not cease to claim his interest; he was a member of its Board of Managers and Chairman of its Committee on Foreign Agencies. He continued his active interest in the Foreign Policy Association—an association for promoting the study and discussion of international affairs, of which he became a member in 1926. He also followed with a sense of paternal pride the growth of the Missionary Research Library. He enjoyed recalling the occasion of its acquiring its present home in Union Seminary, New York. Walking one day with Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, then President of Union, Warnshuis looked up at the tower of the Seminary. "What are you doing with that tower?" he asked Coffin. "Nothing," replied the President. "Then can I have it for the Missionary Research Library?"

A group to which he gave similar parental guidance and which continues to meet is known as the "L.M. group." Warnshuis first convened it in 1926, basing it

on his experience in London of the meetings of experts on various subjects which Oldham was in the habit of gathering together. Livingston was greatly impressed by the value of these discussions; they differed from committees; they had no permanent membership; they seldom used an agenda and never kept minutes: but they were almost always enlightening and often brought the stimulus of fresh ideas and insights to men who could then profit by them in their several official responsibilities. Warnshuis recognized that what had succeeded in London under Oldham's leadership could not automatically be translated to New York; but by adapting some of Oldham's methods Warnshuis gathered round him over a long and fruitful period a company of friends who greatly profited by these informal sessions. The full title of the group is seldom used; it has generally been referred to by its initials; they represent *Lux Mundi*. "The name was suggested to me by a window in Kirkpatrick Chapel in Rutgers University," wrote Warnshuis. "When I happened to see it one day it seemed to be suitable for our group, if not too ambitious." Among those longest associated with the group were Samuel McCrea Cavert, Fred Field Goodsell, Charles W. Iglehart, Kenneth Scott Latourette, E. C. Lobenstine, John A. Mackay, Luman J. Shafer and Luther A. Weigle. In his later years Warnshuis became disappointed with the general trend of the group's meetings. "It is becoming too much like another committee," he said, "and seldom goes deep

enough to provide a meeting place for the nurture of our souls and minds."

Livingston's retirement from the secretaryship of the International Missionary Council did not bring an end to requests for his services as a speaker. Commencement addresses to students, addresses to missionaries in training or on furlough, speeches on public affairs—especially Far Eastern problems, all made heavy demands on him. His output as a writer was not large but he was a welcome, occasional contributor to such journals as the *Christian Century*, *Religion in Life* and the *International Review of Missions*. His correspondence was always heavy, much of it the result of his capacity for friendship and especially his readiness to help with advice or assistance whenever personal needs came to his notice. As will be noted more fully in the next chapter, one welcome consequence of his release from full-time office with the IMC was that he could greatly increase his voluntary work for the institutions of his own Church—the Reformed Church in America.

These retirement years, however, were not to be spent only in the slightly more leisurely continuance of interests and activities already familiar to him. The war and some of its more poignant consequences soon presented a challenge which he found to be irresistible and to which he responded with such a new concentration of zeal and devoted service as to constitute what Oldham described in 1949 as "one of the chief contri-

butions you have been able to make to the Christian cause in your lifetime . . . a remarkable achievement."

Early in 1943 Warnshuis received an invitation from the State Department to join the staff of a newly formed Division on Relief and Rehabilitation under the leadership of Governor Lehman. Paton encouraged acceptance. "I believe," he wrote, "that the governmental machine, especially the American and British parts of it, are going to be extremely important in the immediate post-armistice period of reconstruction, and we need a few people inside that machine." Warnshuis came to the conclusion, however, that he could best serve the same ends by working with a non-governmental organization. The opportunity was at hand in a newly organized Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction operating under the joint auspices of the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. In September, 1942, Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, secretary of the Federal Council, paid a memorable war-time visit to Geneva (traveling via Lisbon and southern France just before Germany occupied the south). The object of the visit was to establish contacts between the American churches and those of continental Europe. The World Council of Churches had not yet been constituted but there was in existence a "Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches—in-process-of-formation," and during Dr. Cavert's visit to Geneva it was proposed that this Committee should set up a

Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, building on the work of an older organization—the European Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, which had been operating since the close of the first world war under the direction of a distinguished Swiss pastor, Dr. Adolf Keller. Dr. Cavert returned to America urging the full cooperation of the American churches in this—a plea which at once won the assent of the American members of the Provisional Committee of the WCC and the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. Warnshuis was at this time in the closing weeks of his service as secretary of the International Missionary Council. He had been involved in the consultations which had led to Cavert's visit to Europe and at once saw the importance and urgency of the proposals which Cavert brought back with him. His mind and heart were therefore ready to respond when, a few months later, the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction invited him to join it and assist in building up an international Christian agency for relief. He was given the title of Foreign Counselor to the Committee. It was in this capacity that, towards the end of 1944, he was entrusted with a mission to Europe which proved to be the most exciting and moving single event in his career. It was an experience which also produced results—in so far as these things are open to human measurement—far beyond anything which he could have contemplated when he set out. In a foreword to the published report

of this journey,¹ those mainly responsible for its inception summarized its origin and intention. After speaking of the widespread desire of the American churches to assist their brethren in Europe in the task of reconstruction, the signatories recorded their conviction that

“when the longed-for day of liberation should come our main concern should be not to impose any scheme of our own on the European Churches but to assist those who have endured the heat of tragic years in whatever ways they should themselves desire.”

“It therefore became urgent,” continued the writers

“that at the first opportunity some trusted emissary, whose acceptability was well-recognized should visit the churches in Europe to carry in person our assurance of Christian fellowship and to offer them whatever type of assistance they might request. With one accord the mind of church leaders turned to Dr. A. L. Warnshuis. He was the choice not only of the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction of which he is the Foreign Counselor, but also of the American Committee for the World Council of Churches and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as their joint representative for this important task. In addition, he carried special messages for some twenty denominational bodies to their sister churches in Europe. Thus, he became in

¹ *The Church's Battle for Europe's Soul* by A. L. Warnshuis, published by the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, April, 1945. The Foreword was signed by Samuel McCrea Cavert, Henry Smith Leiper and Leslie B. Moss.

fact an Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the Christian Churches in the United States to the Churches of Europe."

From the moment of setting out on this journey Warnshuis found himself caught up into an experience which was to dominate thought and feeling to the end of his days. When he returned to America those who had known him longest and best knew that something had happened to him which was to be numbered amongst the most revealing and disturbing of all his spiritual experiences. In the months immediately following, he spoke and wrote with a new power, born of great conviction and deep emotion. It was partly that his capacity for caring had been touched—and enlarged in the touching. It was partly that the realities of war had been brought home to him in a way impossible even to the most sensitive Christian living in the United States in wartime. But deeper than all other aspects of his experience was the witness which this European visit made to him of the Faith which makes men more than conquerors and of a Christian fellowship that is supra-national because its source and sustaining power lies in that which is supernatural.

There were secondary features of the experience which he would continue to reminisce about for years to come with something like a schoolboy delight. At a time when the letters VIP were a necessary key to all sorts of facilities, it pleased him to know that he had been accorded by the State Department the highest of

ELDER STATESMAN

all priorities, giving him precedence even over Admiral Byrd who shared the first part of the journey with him. Years later he loved to produce a letter of commendation personally signed by President Roosevelt, the waving of which at critical moments removed many barriers and evoked almost embarrassing attentions from the military and security forces. The letter was as follows:

“Dear Dr. Warnshuis,

“I have learned with pleasure of your forthcoming trip to England in connection with plans for church work on the Continent after the war.

“It ought to bring hope to sorely tried churches in Continental Europe to know that their leaders will confer with you and representatives of churches from the liberated countries on the momentous task of rehabilitating spiritual work in the stricken areas.

“The mission which prompts your visit is indeed worthy of all praise. May God speed and prosper the work.

“Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt.”

Again, Livingston could never forget that on arriving in England the gift which two of his hosts appreciated as though it were fabulous treasure was a present of four lemons which he had bought in Portugal; or that in France a gift of soap to a French pastor was received with tears; for years this man and his family had

"washed" with sand, soap being almost unprocurable. These things were part of a deeper realization of what war had been meaning to his former friends in Europe; the years of black-out and blitz in England; the three-tiered bunks in the London underground and the nightly spectacle of tens of thousands sleeping like refugees in shelters; the desolation of his beloved Inner Temple and the rubble which lay where his treasured London home had been. But, deeper still, the sight of all and sundry, rich and poor, taking these things with calmness and a dogged courage; the humor and the patience, the pathos and the faithfulness. He had read about such things before, but now he knew, and the knowledge both shook and inspired him. In letters, notes and articles, the phrases keep recurring: "One looks on all this not as a curious sight-seer but with reverence" . . . "Our American people generally can have little or no conception of what is happening here" . . . "I cannot tell you" . . . "I cannot describe it." Yet he did describe and communicate much of it; chiefly in the published report which was circulated by the thousand, and perhaps most movingly in an address which he gave soon after his return. This formed the substance of scores of other speeches and was reprinted in whole or in part in *Colliers' Magazine* and in a dozen or so weekly and monthly journals. It also provided material for many published interviews with newspaper correspondents, including those of the *New York*

Times, the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. Here are some paragraphs from it:

"Men, women and children in France alone, over 75,000 civilians, have been murdered besides the tens of thousands who have been deported to work in the labor battalions of their enemy."

"In England life is still very grim. There is enough food but it is monotonous. They have clothing, but they have worn it for five years—to the ladies, think of that! . . . Thousands of people in London are still sleeping in the subways every night. The physical damage is something that has to be seen to be appreciated."

"One diocese in the Church of England reports that there are only five undamaged churches out of 395, 48 totally destroyed, and 342 more or less seriously damaged. The Congregational churches report 120 destroyed and 330 damaged. The Baptists report 50 destroyed and 590 damaged. The Methodists report 2,490 churches, parsonages, and other church buildings destroyed or seriously damaged."

"But ten times worse than the physical suffering, has been the mental and spiritual agony. The framework of life has collapsed, the foundation of life has fallen away, the world has been breaking up . . . One must live with these people and in some way enter into that mental agony which they have suffered."

In recounting these now familiar facts, with a sharpness born of what he had seen, Warnshuis was not simply appealing to compassion. "I bring you from Europe," he said, "not a heart-breaking story but a

challenge to your faith and your loyal devotion. Suffering and danger have awakened the churches of Europe and there has been a revival of their religious life . . . They are not asking us for any pity; their life has been revived, their energies aroused and their service related as never before to the life of their communities and their nation."

"They ask of us a few dollars, only to help them in their emergency needs, but they most earnestly desire our sympathetic understanding as they struggle to maintain the laws of God in opposition to the demoniac forces that have been oppressing them. And they pray that here in America the churches may with equal courage and faithfulness observe and obey those laws of God in our national and international relationships."

He had met face to face some of the Christian leaders of the resistance movements; in later years some of these found the gift of rest and renewal in the Warnshuis home. In Europe he learned from them of the renewal of the churches through the Word which the Bible had spoken in their crises. Telling now his American audiences of these things he made a startling transposition of the terms *new-world* and *old-world* as these were familiar to his hearers:

"I feel that I have been in a new world and I have come back to the old world in America. Europe is new, not yet formed, somewhat chaotic still. But the spirit

of God is brooding over the waters. The Church has heard this voice and there is a new world in the making. God grant that we, too, may share in that new life."

Here lay the depth of the appeal to which he was to devote the next few years. It involved the raising of money, on a scale exceeding anything he had attempted hitherto; the "few" dollars were anything but few. But what he put before the churches in the United States of America was an opportunity and challenge to participate in the same experience of renewal, using their gifts as pledges of their commitment, within that universal Church in which God was making all things new.

The weeks which Warnshuis had spent in Europe, in observation, in travel—much of it hazardous, in meetings and hundreds of conversations, all focused on very practical business. This was the task of developing further the international plans for Christian relief and reconstruction which Cavert had helped to shape in his visit two years previously. Warnshuis was met in London by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches-in-process-of-formation and by Dr. Marc Boegner of France, the vice-chairman of the Provisional Committee. In London, Paris and Geneva these three took counsel with representative groups of churchmen, sharing experience of work already accomplished in the fields of relief and reconstruction, making further plans and devising ways by which the American churches could play their maxi-

mum part in the whole. In all this, Livingston's administrative skill and varied experience were invaluable, and he was in a position to speak with knowledge and authority concerning the American churches, what they were already doing and what might be expected of them. When he returned to America his powerful public advocacy was only one part of his task. He inevitably became a key person in creating the administrative structure through which the churches would act. As he always acknowledged, others shared the task and the leadership. Roswell Barnes, Robins Barstow, Henry Smith Leiper, Wynn Fairfield—these were some of a remarkable company of zealous and gifted men who were fired by the same deep concern. Within this company Warnshuis combined with his leadership and his administrative ability a great capacity for establishing confidence between workers and organizations; in the process he set his distinctive mark upon a new organization which evoked and administered Christian generosity on an unprecedented scale. This was the organization which eventually became known, and continues its beneficent ministries, as Church World Service.

The new organization bearing this name was not constituted until May, 1946. The task involved was not simply one of creating a new instrument for a new purpose. Although a fresh stage was being reached in the nature and scale of the American churches' involvement in relief and reconstruction, the churches had

been far from idle and important organizations were already in existence. Some of these, including the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction under whose auspices Warnhuis made his visit to Europe, had their roots in older organizations dating back to the 1920's. When Warnhuis brought back his new and larger challenge three main agencies—each serving various aspects of the united relief work of the American churches—constituted the chief centers of responsibility. First, there was the Church Committee for Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, representing the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. Secondly, there was the Commission for World Council Services which had taken over the work of an earlier American office of the Central European Bureau for Inter-Church Aid and which already had administrative links with Geneva. Thirdly, there was the Church Committee for Relief in Asia—another joint organization of the Federal Council and the Foreign Missions Conference which had originally been created to deal with famine relief in China. Within and between these three main groupings there were complex relationships of authority and administration. There were also problems arising from the relation between the churches' participation in these united undertakings and their direct responsibilities to churches of their own communion overseas. To begin to weave these many strands into a single structure, preserving varied loyalties and

resources and yet giving the whole a new significance and potentiality was no small task. Warnshuis was naturally at the heart of the process from the moment of his return from Europe. In May of the following year (1946) Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, secretary of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, and another of the leading spirits in this whole process, wrote to Livingston's new wife:

"Today, Monday, I had a wonderful lunch with A.L. and was most enthusiastic about the way he has worked out the unification of these relief agencies. But, even more wonderful news is that he may accept the Executive Vice-Chairmanship. I just want you to know that we appreciate the oar you pulled in this whole matter. I feel that we will now get the new organization on its feet and one of the most significant events in the Protestant Church of this day will have taken place."

Warnshuis had married again at the end of 1942.¹ The influence of the feminine oar at this time should not be underestimated, but the vessel now launched as Church World Service had been built to Livingston's specifications and at its helm was an ALW who knew his own mind. He had staunch and competent colleagues in the President of the new organization, Mr. Harper Sibley, and in his fellow-executives, Dr. Leslie B. Moss, Director of Promotion, and Dr. Robbins W.

¹ See next chapter.

Barstow, Director for Services. Moreover, he could rely—and did so greatly—on the strength and wisdom of his colleagues in kindred organizations—in the Federal Council of Churches, especially Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert and Dr. Roswell P. Barnes; in the American Committee for the World Council of Churches with its redoubtable secretary Dr. Henry Smith Leiper; in the Foreign Missions Conference whose principal secretary at the time was Dr. Wynn C. Fairfield; and in the New York office of the International Missionary Council where his successor Dr. John W. Decker did so much to keep the needs and problems of Asia related to the policy and potentialities of the new organization. Warnshuis was fortunate also—as was the organization he served—in the solid confidence he commanded with the denominational leaders in America whose cooperation, in terms of much more than money-raising, was essential to the success of the whole enterprise. At every stage of the new task the administration of this great American effort was dovetailed into the international program being developed from Geneva through the World Council's Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, the precursors of the present Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service. This Department had moved into a new phase with a greatly enlarged scale of operations under the leadership of Dr. J. Hutchison Cockburn, a former Moderator of the Church of Scotland. Warnshuis had met Cockburn—tall, generously proportioned and comfort-

ably upholstered—during his European visit in 1946 and had been impressed with his stature, in more senses than one. “I write of Cockburn’s likely appointment,” he had said in a letter from London, “to challenge the committee in New York to lift its sights and call on the strongest church leader in America to take on this job . . . not some inexperienced young man.”

Some of the greatest achievements of Church World Service, especially when measured by the magnitude of the services rendered, lie beyond the period of Warnshuis’s whole time service as Executive Vice-President; they therefore fall also outside the scope and purpose of this volume. But Warnshuis was more responsible than any other one person for the character and spirit of these formative years and they were, indeed, exhilarating years. In the first twelve months some thirty denominations actively participated in the task and assistance of various kinds was sent to thirty-four different countries. About \$10,000,000 were raised and vast quantities of goods (food, clothing, seeds, livestock, books, paper) unobtainable in the lands which needed them, were provided at an additional estimated cost of \$4,500,000. At the end of this first year, also, the new organization took over the work of the American Christian Committee for Refugees and thus assumed responsibility for a great section of the refugee service which the World Council of Churches had undertaken. In the first three months of this new development nearly 1,500 refugees were sponsored by Church World Service, and given homes and employment, in various parts

of the United States; 98% of these became self-supporting within their first year in America.

In all this Warnshuis never lost sight of the deepest concern which had weighed upon him during his experience of Europe in war-time. While appealing for money, goods and services, he kept returning to the note on which he closed his first annual report as executive head of Church World Service:

“We church people must come to realize that we have another responsibility that is peculiarly and uniquely the task of the churches. Far greater than physical suffering is mental and spiritual distress. We have not done enough to feed Europe’s body but we are letting its spirit starve. We are hardly aware of the flood and famine stricken millions in China and India, but floods and famines will recur endlessly unless there is a reconstruction of national and social responsibility. Ravaged as Germany and Japan are, they are far more devastated intellectually than physically; with this, goes their moral and spiritual collapse. Our American churches need to be stabbed awake, not merely to give some of their old clothes and a day’s wages, but to realize that the churches in Europe, even though there are signs of spiritual revival in them, are being thrown back into the dark ages, and the survival of the younger churches in Asia is at stake. There is urgency here.”

When Church World Service was constituted in May, 1946, Warnshuis was already in his seventieth year, yet it was at this point that he threw himself into one of the

hardest and most urgent tasks in his career. He made it clear, however, that his period of service should be regarded as interim only, pending the appointment of a younger man, and in June, 1948, he resigned his whole-time appointment. Even then he yielded to pressure to become chairman of the Administrative Committee of the organization, so that his guidance might be available through another critical period. He gave up this chairmanship in February, 1949, but remained a member of the Board of Managers—representing the Reformed Church of America—until March, 1952. In a final resignation from all offices in the organization—in his seventy-fifth year—he expressed his unwavering interest in the cause and his continued willingness to be used, if required, “for unofficial consultation.” In fact, he followed in great detail the activities of the organization until his death, corresponding frequently with his successors in office in response to their requests for advice.

The shaping of Church World Service and the European experiences which preceded Livingston’s share in this had involved him in very close contacts with the “World Council of Churches-in-process-of-formation.” He did not go to the inaugural Assembly of the World Council at Amsterdam in 1948, although he was warmly invited; and by the time this most significant expression of the ecumenical movement had been well launched on its course Livingston, now in his seventies,

was withdrawing from as many official responsibilities as possible. He had, of course, been close to the movements out of which the World Council of Churches grew and had taken part in many of the discussions which preceded the formation of the Council. He had been a member of a Joint Executive Committee set up by the American sections of the Life and Work and Faith and Order movements in 1937 when these two movements agreed to merge in a World Council of Churches and he continued to play an important role in the work of this body when it became the American Committee for the World Council of Churches (now the United States Conference for the World Council). He had also participated in the action of the Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Council when it was agreed that William Paton—while remaining secretary of the Council—should serve, with Dr. Visser 't Hooft, as General Secretary of the "World Council of Churches in-process-of-formation." During this period Livingston's main concern—and his most useful service to the new organization—was to insure that from the beginning there should be justification for the title *World Council of Churches*: it would have been altogether wrong, he felt, for this name to be assumed by a body wholly or overwhelmingly western. He worked hard, therefore, to secure that as many as possible of the "younger" churches, especially in Asia, should be represented at Amsterdam and become full participants in the formative years of the Council.

It is significant that as early as 1942 Warnshuis was speculating about the fusion of the World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council as a possibility which would have to be faced. "So far as the younger churches are concerned," he wrote to Paton in this year, "I do not think that there is room for two world organizations," and he repeated this in a letter to Visser 't Hooft in the same year. "I am more and more confirmed in this view," he said to Visser 't Hooft. "In some way or other the two must be merged." In such reflections as he gave to the "how" of this he was inclined to make use of the experience of the older organization as a "Council of councils." In the later years of his retirement he took this line more strongly. The younger churches, he believed, would exert their influence most effectively in the national councils of which they were members; indeed, this could be held to be true of many of the "older" churches. "Few churches will maintain their interest in the Council," he wrote, "if their participation in its activities is limited to the attendance by one or two of their individual representatives at Assemblies once in five years. Every church should be made to feel that it is vitally concerned in what the Council is doing. It is simply impracticable to accomplish this on a world scale unless the organization provides for the churches in each country or group of countries to meet in conference annually to study and take action on the issues that concern the worldwide church. Their views and actions

must then be coordinated with those in other areas and so the World Council will function, not as a distant, detached organism, but as the central coordinator of churches in all parts of the world." When pressed as to the "how" of this "central coordination," he was less specific and was content to leave it to be discovered by experience and experiment. He saw that if a *world* council was really to provide the relationship and the meeting-point for churches to take counsel and grow together on a world basis, something more was needed than a series of regional or national bodies only loosely coordinated with one another. He thought that in due time it might be possible to combine in one structure the values of a council-of-councils and a council-of-churches, but in the meantime his chief interest was in the strengthening of the national and regional bodies. This was related to a concern which again he expressed more forcefully in his later years—that in these new developments responsibility should be thrust on the churches, not assumed by the World Council itself. "The central, controlling aim," he said, "must always be to aid the churches themselves to fulfill their whole duty. The corollary is that the Council should do nothing itself. The temptation to undertake tasks neglected by the churches must be avoided. The Council's success will be measured by what it achieves in helping the churches to develop united planning and to reach doctrinal agreement." These extracts from let-

ters and memoranda belong to the years 1942-1945.¹ If they do not provide all the answers needed twenty years later, they reveal a keen awareness of questions that are still pertinent to the ecumenical movement.

Despite the absorbing character of Livingston's main activities in the decade following his retirement from the International Missionary Council he managed to maintain his wide range of interests. Far Eastern affairs always commanded his attention and his judgment was frequently sought by those who carried responsibility for missionary policy in Asia. His close ties with Holland gave a specially keen edge to his study of events in Indonesia. He built up many friendships with Dutch missionaries and others who had served in Indonesia and took special satisfaction in fostering cooperation between Church World Service and the International Missionary Council in aiding the churches in Indonesia to meet the demands of a new era, especially in the training of Christian leadership. He was greatly concerned about relations between Japan and America and believed that despite the bitterness created by Pearl Harbor and Japan's behavior in wartime, the task of treaty-making with Japan and the country's needs in reconstruction constituted a special challenge to

¹ There is a published expression of some of these views in a contribution which Warnshuis made to a symposium on *The World Council in the Post-War Decade* in the journal *Christendom*, Volume X, No. 1 (Winter 1945).

Christian statesmanship and service. He took a leading part in organizing the first post-war visit of American church leaders to Japan in October, 1945, and even while the deputation was on its way he wrote an urgent letter to the Foreign Missions Conference outlining possible plans for a swift resumption of missionary work in the event that this renewal of contact should prove that the time was ripe for it. His calculations and his suggested plans proved to be sound. In his earlier work he had made a special study of some immigration questions. Long after his retirement he was alert to developments in this field and made occasional representations, based on carefully prepared data, to members of the House Committee of Congress on Immigration and Naturalization. Requests for public speaking inevitably lessened in these later years, but that he could rise to the great occasion in platform utterance was evident in an address which he gave in his seventy-first year at the annual Commencement of the Western Theological Seminary in Holland, Michigan. This invitation had given him some surprise as well as pleasure and he took a long time to consider it. He felt incompetent to speak with the theological weight which he would have liked to carry to such an occasion. "Theology is not my special field," he wrote to the seminary president. "For thirty years I have been in executive positions. I could only say something about the work of the Church in a revolutionary period, when politicians are frustrated and economists are bankrupt, and

suffering peoples call for prophets with a message from the eternal God to show them the way of repentance and obedience." So this became his theme. "You have placed us all under heavy obligations to you," wrote President J. R. Mulder afterwards. "On every hand I hear nothing but words of praise and appreciation for the wonderful address you gave. It was quite generally realized that your words were a providential answer to the objections that are being raised by some of our people to the development of the ecumenical spirit."

Chapter Five

ANCHORAGE

THE ESSENCE of a missionary vocation is that the world becomes a man's parish. For Warnshuis, this found a more complete geographical fulfilment than belongs to most ambassadors of Christ. In addition to the numerous journeys which were a necessary part of the offices he held, he had identified himself to an unusual degree with three countries other than the land of his birth—Holland, China and England. To go abroad was, for him, to be at home. Amidst a great diversity of experiences he was always sure of his anchorage. This was part of the strength and serenity which so many different people found in him. It lay behind those attributes to which his friends instinctively pointed when, at his death, they tried to give some expression to their gratitude and sympathy. "The essential discipline of even temper and good humor in the face of multiplied perplexities"—this was how it appeared to Dr. Roswell

Barnes. "A rock-ribbed personality . . . unforgotten and unforgettable," said Dr. Franklin Clark Fry. "Complete and well balanced" . . . "steady and serene" . . . "one who brought perspective to our thinking"—all these were fellow-countrymen's tributes. To these may be added a British voice from one who only met him in his last years: "the statesmanship and large human wisdom which made him one of the Christian forces to be reckoned with in the turbulent twentieth century"—this was what impressed itself on Dr. John S. Whale.

This serene steadfastness was anchored in Livingston's faith; it was nurtured in the Church and through the assurances and graces of a Christian home. With each passing year this threefold cord—Faith, Church, Home—grew stronger, and those who enjoyed his intimate friendship in his last phase found this combination of strength and equanimity deeply enriching.

Livingston's faith was characterized by simplicity and openness. The simplicity lay in a confession of Christ as Lord which—as far as those nearest to him could know—remained unwavering throughout his life. When he had occasion to express this theologically or creedally, he was content with the central Christological tradition of the Church. But, as he often said in sermons, letters, or talks with friends, his faith was a confession more than a dogma; it was an affirmation which could not be separated from his experience. Woven into the experience were his main vocational decisions—marked by his ordination, his missionary

commitment, and the joining of demand and obedience at successive turning points in his career—and his constantly renewed sense of God's leading in events, His presence in life's joys, and His reality and sufficiency in face of the pain of things. This acceptance of a tradition verified in experience gave a sense of finality to his central belief which, for him, was the necessary foundation of a life of service. Here was the Christian's certainty, amidst all the vagaries of experience, the apparent success or the seeming failures. "To bring the message of God today," he once said to a group of missionaries, "is about as difficult a job as you can undertake." "The one thing that matters," he continued:

"is our own deep personal conviction that the message we are charged to give is something really indispensable. Unless you are positively sure in your own mind that what you are saying is the Word of the Lord in the deepest and truest sense, and that men really determine their destiny by their attitude to what you are saying, you can never expect to do any good anywhere for Jesus Christ; it is He who is absolutely final."

His personal verification of the truth that Jesus Christ, is, indeed, the Word of God for men, had not been achieved lightly, though he never forgot his indebtedness to people and circumstances through which the gift of faith had become his. It would surprise many who saw in him, physically, a "towering Dutchman"

robustly endowed, to know how much illness and inadequate health he had to cope with in successive phases of his life. This burden, coupled with that of bereavement and the close—as it seemed—of his main life-work, led him, in 1942, to a deliberate resolution; he quietly and painstakingly put his affairs in order, gave himself two years to live and faced the end. This throws light on an episode which one of his nieces never forgot. “I went to him for advice in a personal crisis. The talk turned to religion and, somehow, to death. I learned that to appreciate life I must also appreciate death as a beautiful and exciting experience.” The fact that in 1942 a new and, in most ways, the happiest period of Livingston’s experience of life was about to open, did not alter the significance of this moment of reckoning and acceptance. Fifteen years later, while still active and appreciating life more than ever, he could again order his affairs in such a manner that if the call came suddenly there would be no ragged ends of responsibility to be dealt with. In his last months—still active—his correspondence, his business transactions, and even the tidying of his study and desk, were the actions of a man ready at any moment for life or death—ready because of the certainty and finality of his central confession of faith.

With this simplicity of acceptance there went an openness that constituted one of his most engaging characteristics. While his basic convictions were unasailable, he brought to life an openness of mind and

spirit which he never felt to be inconsistent with the certainty and finality which he ascribed to Jesus Christ as the Word of God. This made him hospitable to types of theological inquiry and Biblical criticism which were far from palatable to some of his brethren in the Reformed Church. He read widely, even through his busiest years, and kept remarkably well abreast of current theological writing (whether in English or Dutch). To new lines of speculation he was more inclined to bring an eager interest than any fear or suspicion of unorthodoxy. One of his most satisfying later friendships was with a younger man who survived him by only a year, dying at the age of fifty. This was Hugh Baillie MacLean, a Scot who, after studies in St. Andrew's University, visited the United States on a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship to Union Theological Seminary in New York. In 1947, much to Livingston's delight, MacLean joined the staff of New Brunswick Seminary in New Jersey, becoming Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature in 1948, and subsequently Dean of the Seminary. MacLean had a lively, inquiring mind, adorned with a pretty wit; and the two men developed a rich and intimate friendship which included the constant interchange of books and opinions on the latest trends in Biblical studies. This intellectual openness, anchored to an unshaken and unshakable Christian experience, was the source of many satisfying adventures in thought; in some ways, Livingston

reveled in these all the more in his later years, and this at a time when spiritually he was more than ever thankful to rest in the great acceptances of faith. In a little book of devotion which he used constantly, there is a prayer specially marked by him:

“We thank Thee, O God, for the revelation of thyself in the common ways of life, and in special times and things and places. *Help us to be ever watchful for new knowledge of Thee*, so that in the temporal we may discern that which is eternal.”

This openness was more than that of a mind hospitable to new ideas and speculations. It was part of an excited interest in life, often boyishly expressed even in his latest years. As Margaret Warnshuis said: “He reveled in anything *new*, from new Biblical interpretation to new shaving soap.” The achievements of science fascinated and moved him to awe and this eager and reverent interest in the natural world went deep into his worship of God as the author of all the mystery, the splendor and the beauty of creation. Among the many hobbies to which, especially during his earlier years in China, he brought more than the interest of a dilettante, were his studies and experiments in meteorology and astronomy. His compasses, barometers, altimeters, rain and wind gauges were more than his toys, and he delighted in the accuracy with which he could predict the course of storms and give warning of the track of hurricanes. In his last years he was more excited than

his phlegmatic bearing would indicate by the opening-up of new realms of physical exploration, and in the same eagerness he looked forward with the confident expectancy of faith to what the new world beyond death would hold for him. "We will have all eternity," he said, "in which to see all the universes God has created. I can hardly wait to find out what it is all about." Here is one of the marked prayers in a book which he added to his aids to devotion only a few months before his death:

"For beauty, Lord, wherever our eyes have seen it, in the heavens or on the earth, in the great seas or tall trees or wide plains, in the flight of birds or the strength of the beasts;

"for beauty heard, whether it be in the voice of man, or the music of manifold instruments fashioned by many skills, whether it be the great sounds of the storm or the laughter of a little child;

"for the beauty neither seen nor heard, deeper than the flesh and higher than stars, the grace of the heart's desire and of lasting affection, of forgiveness freely given and of hospitality boldly offered, the holiness of saints whose love opens wide the larger kingdom of the Eternal and every gesture by which the soul holds high converse with the mystery of thy mercy;

"for all beauty we bow our hearts gratefully and in reverence, and for him in whom life became redeeming grace, even Jesus Christ, we give thee thanks."¹

¹ Samuel H. Miller: *Prayers For Daily Use*. Harper, 1957.

This faith was nurtured, from his earliest days, in the Church. There was the church of his boyhood and young manhood, the church in which he found his vocation and received his ordination. There was the church in China in which he looked for, and found, not simply an overseas extension of the Reformed Church in America, but a new creation within the one fellowship of the Spirit. And there was the Church appearing within the many churches that he knew and served through the ecumenical movement. It was within this larger churchmanship that he gave his loyalty and devotion to the Reformed Church in America, rejoicing that his more leisurely, later years gave him increased opportunities for paying back his deep debt of gratitude to the church of his fathers.

This Church, in which Warnshuis was baptized, was called, until 1867, the Reformed Dutch Church. Since that date, its official name has been the Reformed Church in America, though for long after 1867 it was referred to colloquially as the Dutch Reformed Church. It is a member of that worldwide family whose polity is Presbyterian, its organization differing only in name from that of Presbyterian churches in the United States. The *consistory* of a Reformed Church corresponds to the *session* of a local Presbyterian Church, and the *classis* is the equivalent of a *presbytery*. The *synod* in Presbyterianism—which covers a wider area than a presbytery—is called a *particular synod* in the Reformed Church, and a Presbyterian *general assem-*

bly is the counterpart of the Reformed *general synod*. The doctrinal basis of Reformed and Presbyterian churches is fundamentally a common one, though there are differences in the historic Confessions which define the faith of particular members of this world-wide family. Thus where other Presbyterians would look to the Westminster Confession for their doctrinal foundations, the Reformed Church in America turns to the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort.

As early as 1909 Warnshuis was elected as a vice-president of the General Synod of the Reformed Church. This was a tribute commonly offered to one or other of the church's foreign missionaries, though it is significant that it was accorded him within the first decade of his service. Livingston said of his election that "it was one of the biggest surprises I have ever received." He again served as vice-president for the years 1934 to 1936 and 1942-1943, but it is a little surprising that he never became president. This was partly due to his many years of residence outside America, but it may also be related to the fact that, great as were the respect and appreciation which most of his brethren had for him, he was not universally popular in General Synod. It was a Synod in which there were great diversities of outlook and temperament, and some of Livingston's views, his forthrightness, and at times his manner, were far from acceptable to all its members. Differences of standpoint and judg-

ment are common to all such assemblies, but history, geography, and cultural diversities tended to accentuate them in the Reformed Church in America. While it would be an oversimplification to identify the contrasts exclusively with the Eastern and Western Synods, there are elements in this geographical separation which contribute to the differences. In the West the spirit of the Seceders from Holland in the nineteenth century has remained more markedly in evidence; strong Dutch cultural characteristics have been preserved, and the Dutch language was retained in worship to a much later date than in the Eastern churches. The latter, though strongly rooted in the earlier Dutch colonial period, have for much longer been influenced by other cultural forces. Theologically and ecclesiologically they are still *Reformed*; but their ethos is not noticeably Reformed *Dutch*. To some members of the churches in the West it seems at times to be dangerously cosmopolitan and "liberal."

Livingston's childhood, his father's varied pastorates, and his own educational opportunities, nurtured him within these two great areas of the Reformed Church and he was deeply loyal to the church as a whole. But he began his ministry in a missionary situation where "Dutch Reformed" polity had already undergone sea-changes and his own convictions made him proud to stand in a missionary succession which had defied the home Synod at a critical stage in the shaping of a new church polity in China. During his many years of

service within the ecumenical movement—whether in the National Christian Council of China, the International Missionary Council, or Church World Service, he cherished his standing as a minister of the Reformed Church and never mistook the “ecumenical spirit” for a vague undenominationalism; he knew that the quest for unity required fidelity to history and its loyalties, and that differences would not be transcended unless their existence was first recognized and their nature and validity clarified. But he was one with those who, within the ecumenical movement, seek and work for that wholeness of the Church which will, in fact, transcend the differences and require institutional death as precedent to rebirth. In this sense, Warnshuis was never the denominationalist which some of his brethren would have preferred him to be. For a time he served the Synod as one of its representatives on a Joint Committee appointed to examine the possibility of union between the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches in the United States. The Committee’s work reached the stage of a draft plan of union which was published in 1948 but which failed to win the support necessary for further action. Livingston had resigned from the committee two years before the publication of the report, partly through pressure of other work but also on the ground that the committee seemed to him to be content with generalities where harder work on specific difficulties was called for. “I believe,” he wrote in his letter of resignation, “that this committee

ought to be composed of people who can and will work hard on the things that need to be done if this movement is to be a success . . . My complaint has been that the committee was not ready or willing to do any hard work."

None of this meant that Livingston's fundamental loyalty to his Church or his service to its General Synod were weak or half-hearted. Soon after his retirement from the International Missionary Council he accepted, in 1943, the arduous post of treasurer of the Synod and for the next fifteen years gave an immense amount of time and thought to this task. He was meticulous in his attention to accounting details, shrewd and far-seeing in his general financial policy. Through his influence the support of some extremely able financial counselors—members of the Reformed Church—was secured, and with their help he greatly enhanced the resources of the Synod. The most outstanding achievement in this respect resulted in the transfer, by order of the Superior Court of New Jersey, of funds amounting to over \$250,000 from Rutgers University at New Brunswick to the Synod's Board of Direction. As indicated in an earlier chapter of this book, Rutgers University and New Brunswick Theological Seminary both had their origin in the devotion and benefactions of members of the Reformed Church. As with some other comparable institutions, the University moved towards independent status, and a final reorganization in 1955-1956 made it constitutionally a public educational institu-

tion of the State of New Jersey. At this point Warnshuis raised the question of the disposition of some early endowments which, he thought, would have been given specifically for the education of students preparing to enter the ministry of the Reformed Church. The University officers responded to the inquiry but a court action was required to change the trusteeship of the funds. There followed a long investigation of the terms of these original endowments—a process involving the examination of wills covering the previous two centuries. The result was clear, and thirteen specified capital sums, with accumulated interest, became reserved for the use of the Seminary, either directly or by becoming applicable only to students of the University who were preparing to enter the Reformed Church ministry. Mr. Arad Riggs, a counselor-at-law, a close friend of Warnshuis and a fellow-member of the Reformed Church, recalls that Livingston “worked unceasingly and untiringly on this project from 1955 through 1957. His wide knowledge, his alert mind and his good judgment, more than anything else, brought about the result.” It should be added that Warnshuis always credited his friend Arad Riggs with a major share of responsibility for the achievement.

That this result should benefit his own theological alma mater gave Livingston the deepest pleasure. He had delightedly assumed the treasurership of the New Brunswick Seminary in 1945 and for the next eight years he worked hard and with his usual business efficiency to

give the Seminary a new lease of life financially. It will be recalled that both these treasurerships—that of the General Synod and the Seminary were accepted at a time when Warnshuis was immersed in the development of Church World Service, yet he brought tremendous industry to these additional undertakings. His correspondence with the faculty and secretarial staff of New Brunswick was constant and full of detail regarding building plans and specifications, problems of administration and investment, the raising of funds and the staffing of the Seminary. After handing over the treasurership in 1953 he continued to serve on the finance committee until 1958, sustaining a correspondence only a little less voluminous than hitherto both with the staff and with potential supporters. He confessed, soon after giving up this treasurership, that he had probably been regarded as a nuisance by many people, especially through his inveterate habit of sending notes to various people in responsibility inviting their attention to some point which had occurred to him. “It has occurred to me . . . ,” or “I wonder if you have thought of it . . . ?”, or “Do you happen to have noticed that . . . ?”. These proddings were by no means confined to the business of the treasurer or finance committee. He employed this practice very freely in relation to the General Synod and its administration. Successive presidents received long dissertations from him, on their taking office, giving them the benefit of his reflections on Synod business or procedure. What saved this prac-

tice from being more resented than it appears to have been was the solid weight of what he had to say and the usefulness of so many of his suggestions. It was natural that the Board of Missions should also benefit by these memory-ticklers. As one of the Board's secretaries has said: "His succession of little notes dropped on my desk, drawing attention to various opportunities, were sometimes irritating, especially on busy days. But they were usually right." And after Livingston's death this same colleague said: "We miss those notes now, half-expecting them to appear. It doesn't seem real that he isn't still with us." And in the same vein the Stated Clerk of the Synod said: "Synod just wasn't quite the same without him around."

When Warnshuis gave up the treasurership of New Brunswick in 1953 the Board of Superintendents recorded that he had "led us as a Seminary through perhaps the most critical years in her history." "It is not too much to say," wrote the president of the Seminary after Livingston's death, "that the Seminary survived its moment of deep crisis and emergency through the sheer determination of his mind and heart." "We sincerely believe," affirmed the resolution of the Board of Superintendents, "that Dr. Warnshuis will go down in the history of the denomination as perhaps her ablest ecclesiastical statesman."

Something more intimate than statesmanship—though carried through with his same large abilities—went into another undertaking in which he took special

pride. This was the purchase and establishment of a home for aging ministers and missionaries. These were folks whose needs were always close to his heart, and when he heard that the Jay Gould family homestead at Roxbury, New York, was coming into the market, Warnshuis consulted with Arad Riggs, Gerald R. Gnade and others about the need and suitability of this beautiful spot for retired missionaries and ministers. Later in 1949 Mr. Frank Jay Gould gave the Board of Direction of the Reformed Church gifts amounting to \$47,000 for the purchase and adaptation of the property in memory of his sister, Helen Miller Gould Shepard, who was herself a devoted and generous supporter of the Reformed Church. Warnshuis became the first Treasurer of the Board of Direction of the home. Under the able and sympathetic direction of the Board of Pensions and Dr. Gerard Gnade, Kirkside—as the home is called—continues to fulfill its gracious ministry.

In the privileges and responsibilities of church membership the most crucial point of anchorage is in the local congregation with its intimate ties with a man's home and daily environment. For the last thirty years of his life Livingston found this in the Reformed Church of Bronxville in Westchester County, New York, of which he became a member in 1927. This was the church with which his second wife, Margaret, had been associated for most of her life and of which her remarkable father had been a leading figure when both church and community were little more than the

nucleus of what this delectable neighborhood has since become. With a membership which grew to close on 3,000, a succession of Presbyterian as well as Reformed ministers, and a far-reaching community program, the church has in some respects more resembled one of the "Community Churches" in the United States than a typical Reformed Church.¹ Possibly its rootage in the Reformed Church of America, coupled with these community characteristics, made its atmosphere one in which Livingston could easily be at home. He was an Elder and member of Consistory for many years, always generous in his service, and inevitably called upon in a time of crisis when his decisiveness as well as his wisdom were most needed. To successive ministers of the church, especially those who served some of their apprentice years as assistant pastors, he was always a wise and generous friend. Not long before his death he had found special joy in leading a series of mid-week Bible studies for members of the congregation, most of them young. Exceptional as were the administrative gifts which he brought to various aspects of the Church's life, it was as a minister of the Word that he most deeply cherished his place in the organized fellowship of Christ's people. Whether within the Church, local, national, or universal, he expressed his dedication and gave thanks for his anchorage in the spirit of

¹ See *A History of the Reformed Church of Bronxville*, edited by H. L. Walker and LaMont A. Warner; published by the Consistory of the Church, Bronxville, 1951.

another prayer which he underlined in one of his books of personal devotion:

“O God, who dost endow some with many talents, grant us to use them as a solemn trust from Thee; that we may put out at heavenly usury our health, our faith, our strength, our wealth, our time and our influence with others; all in accord with Thy holy will, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Family ties were always strong for Livingston. His twenty years in China, covering his younger manhood, deprived him of some of the closer associations of brothers and sisters but they did not weaken his family loyalty or lessen his concern for kith and kin. “He was a great hero to me in my boyhood,” said a younger brother, “and a good brother to me. His loyalty and responsibility to the family were very strong: he felt he had to keep an eye on every stock and branch of it.” He took great pride in the missionary service of his brother, John Henry Warnshuis, another missionary of the Reformed Church who gave fine service with the Arcot Mission in South India; it had been a special disappointment to Livingston that the Board had chosen to send John to India—in spite of the urgent, almost imperious, counseling of the young Warnshuis in China! J. H. Warnshuis and his wife, Dr. Lilian Warnshuis, who had served at the Vellore Hospital in South India, were specially close to Livingston in their thought and interests; and he was no less thankful that

the marriage of one of his sisters to the Reverend M. Verne Oggle had brought him a ministerial brother-in-law—the Presbyterian minister of the Glen Rock Community Church, New Jersey, a church which owed its origin to a Reformed Church initiative. Having no children of his own, he took a warm and affectionate interest in nephews and nieces, and with increasing years there came an unusual deepening of interest, perceptiveness and sympathy with the teenage members of his family. His delight in some of their more incalculable ways seemed to be part of his excitement over something new, whether Biblical interpretation, shaving soap or another generation.

The last fifteen years of his home life were singularly rewarding and contenting. As this narrative has shown, he was immersed in whole-time tasks of great magnitude and complexity—supplemented by an astonishing number of part-time ones—until well past his seventieth birthday. During another decade, although the appointments which he held were all of a voluntary character, they involved heavy obligations which he met with eager interest as well as with his life-long conscientiousness. Yet, while these later years continued to be fully occupied and included the strain of war and the burden of its aftermath, there were both a buoyancy and serenity in Livingston's bearing which imparted itself to his work and to his relationships with people.

All this was inseparable from his second marriage and the kind of home life which accompanied it. It was

not only that he regained, in domestic affection and security, that reassuring basis for daily living on which he had always been specially dependent. It was the fact that the new home and affection opened up a new world to him and gave him the confidence and the means to enjoy it, and made possible a greater fruition than hitherto of his many abilities.

On November 13th, 1942, Livingston married Margaret Chambers Halsey, widow of Major Charles Woodruff Halsey and daughter of Frank Ross Chambers and Kate Waller Chambers of Bronxville, Westchester County, New York. Margaret Chambers had inherited many gifts from two remarkable parents and had added to them a spice of her own. Both Frank and Kate Chambers belonged to Southern families; their home was in Montgomery, Alabama. As a child, Kate Chambers had witnessed the celebrations which marked the secession of Alabama and the inauguration of a President of the Southern Confederate States. Frank Chambers at the age of twelve was employed as a "runner" in the Montgomery arsenal, and of his four older brothers three were killed in the Civil War and one was maimed. There has been preserved a bundle of letters written to the twelve-year-old boy by the brothers in the Confederate army. A touching brotherly affection characterizes them all and one of them—written by a very youthful soldier—includes his naive estimate of what the war would be like: "I hope that

before many days pass we will have a fight, whip them and then go home."

By the time Frank Chambers was fifteen he had become a bank cashier and at sixteen he went north to find a livelihood in New York, a journey which then took him five days. Before he was twenty-one he had become a junior partner in a newly constituted company created by amalgamating the firms of M. N. Rogers and C. B. Peet. This was the origin of the distinguished Fifth Avenue men's outfitting stores, Rogers Peet & Co., of which Frank Chambers eventually became senior partner and president.

Both Kate and Frank Chambers were the product of a family life in which Christian convictions went deep and Christian experience was fresh and vivid. Service was a key-word to their way of life. The beautiful home which they eventually created at Crow's Nest, Bronxville, was a place of refreshment and encouragement for innumerable people. With growing prosperity, the Chambers devoted an increasing proportion of their means to the provision of aid to ministers, to missionaries and missionaries' children; they provided scholarships for students—especially for would-be missionaries—and gifts for all sorts of needy folk at home and abroad, as well as more public benefactions.

Apart from daily hospitality, there is a record of the many people who resided at Crow's Nest for periods varying from one year to eleven, simply because they needed a home of that kind with the opportunity which

it provided for study or readjustment. During the half-century of Bronxville's main period of development the Chambers family and Crow's Nest were at the heart of the social and public life of this singularly lovely part of Westchester County. And all the time the life of the family was centered on a strong, clear faith in Christ and in manifest devotion to his service, especially through the work of foreign missions.¹

Until the death of Mrs. Chambers in 1947 at the age of ninety-one, Margaret and Livingston Warnshuis lived at Crow's Nest where Margaret had been maintaining during her widowhood the family tradition of hospitality and service. She continued this on the basis of the same deep Christian convictions and also with an unquenchable vivacity. Livingston brought to their life together his own great range of personal contacts, his world-wide experience and his sense of public responsibility. Into every phase of these interests Margaret entered, with a swift appreciation of their significance, an informed mind and an immense enthusiasm. The result was a fresh flowering of Livingston's gifts and abilities in an atmosphere which always had a touch of radiance in it, often a gaiety of a kind that was new to him. He responded with a certain simplicity of spirit and an unmistakable joy in it all. While he remained essentially himself, dignified, responsible,

¹ See *Recollections, 1855-1924*, by Kate Waller Chambers, New York, 1931, G. P. Putnam's Sons; and *Pathway to a Village*, by Victor Mays, Bronxville, 1961, Nebko Press.

ANCHORAGE

even reserved still, many who had known him longest began to detect new qualities in him. If he never developed that cock-eyed sense of humor which one of his friends once said he needed, at least his chuckles—restrained and deep—became more frequent. In some circles the change was met with surprise, and there were moments—on synodical occasions, for example—when some of his Reformed Church brethren from the Middle West who had never reconciled themselves to his pipe-smoking habit, raised their eyebrows at the sight of a senior minister and officer of General Synod accompanied by a wife whose deportment was not wholly conditioned by the traditions of the elders. But the Crow's Nest of Livingston and Margaret Warnshuis—and their later home in Valley Road—spoke to all who came within range of it of a joy that overflowed in caring, of gifts used in a dedicated trusteeship, and of a love rooted and grounded in the love of God. This was the reward and the achievement of Livingston's closing years. For him it constituted one of the most hallowed and hallowing means of grace; through it he became still more sure of his anchorage in the love of the Father "from whom every family in heaven and earth takes its name."

On Sunday, March 16th, 1958, Livingston went with Margaret to the Bronxville Reformed Church for special afternoon and evening services in dedication of a newly enlarged chancel and organ. It was a happy day

of praise. In the evening he read aloud to Margaret, enjoyed a television program and ended the day as usual with prayers. On the Monday morning he went once more to his study and worked contentedly, but on leaving the study an hour or so later he fell, and within fifteen minutes his heart had stopped. He was in his eighty-first year. Messages of sympathy, tributes of gratitude and affection, poured in from all over the world. They were uniformly attuned to the note of triumph and rejoicing. Since then, all who cared for him most and were most blessed by his care, have found it easy to speak to one another about him in terms of the present realities of life and love; the word "past" seems curiously little used. This is more than a tribute to what he was and what he meant to others; it is a confession of the faith which he also confessed. In the memorial service held at the Marble Collegiate Church, New York, on May 5, 1958, Dr. C. W. Ranson pointed to the secret when he ascribed to Abbe Livingston Warnshuis the wish expressed long before by William Carey:

"When I have gone, speak not of Carey, but of Carey's Savior."

“O God, whose Spirit is to be known by those whose hearts are thankful and who makest cheerfulness to be a companion of strength, lift up our hearts, we beseech thee, to a joyous confidence in thy care. Guide us when we cannot see the way. Teach us to know that a shadow is only a shadow because the light of eternal goodness shines behind the object of our fears. Where there is love in life teach us to find it; help us to trust it and enable us to grow in the power of it. So may our lives present a cheerful ray of encouragement to our fellow-men. We ask it in the name of him whose life was the light of men, the same Jesus Christ our Lord.”

(Another of the marked prayers in the book of personal devotions mostly used by A. L. Warnshuis.)

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